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WHOLESOME PARENTHOOD

Wholesome Parenthood

BY
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AND
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PREFACE

'WHOLESOME PARENTHOOD' has been written in response to requests from readers of 'Wholesome Childhood'[1] for a supplementary treatment that would emphasize the more important problems of childhood and present concrete suggestions helpful to mothers and fathers in their home practices.

It has appeared to the authors that the purpose of this book would be best accomplished by following three interests of the parent. First, the nature of the problem is discussed by E. R. Groves in the effort to provide the reader briefly and clearly with the understanding that the science of our period furnishes. Second, practical suggestions are made that, although avoiding the dogmatism of rule-of-thumb methods, give the parent a basis for the tests put upon him by the actual experiences of his child. This is written by G. H. Groves. In order that the parent may further study the problem in which he is interested, a few carefully chosen references are given at the end of each chapter. Recognizing that this book will be used by those who wish

[1] Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.

to pursue an extended study of some topic, perhaps for presentation at a study class, advanced references are included which will introduce the reader to the more technical literature on the subject.

Acknowledgment is made of the courtesy of 'The Mothers' Journal' in generously allowing the reprinting of the treatment of habit (Chapter III), which appeared as an article in a recent number of the magazine.

The authors appreciate the generous interest that has been taken by parents and others in their former books. 'Wholesome Marriage' excluded any considerable discussion of sex problems because it was planned from the first to include in the series 'Wholesome Sex Life.' To the task of writing this book the authors now turn, realizing from their correspondence that many parents are asking for a treatment of sex problems in the spirit and manner of the other books of this series.

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Wholesome Parenthood

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS CHILDHOOD?

OFTEN it has been said that the character of any people or period of time can be judged best by the treatment the child receives. The test the child puts upon civilization is more subtle than merely whether he is kindly treated. We get in full measure a revelation of the life and thinking of men and women when we find out the idea they have of the purpose of childhood. The question, 'What is a child?' opens up not only the spirit of nations and centuries; it also discloses the innermost attitudes of individuals.

If we went about asking people, 'What is a child?' how many different answers would we get, and what insight they would give us concerning the person speaking! 'A child is a great responsibility that never gives you time for yourself.' Surely we know that such an answer could come only from an overworked and unhappy parent. 'A child? Oh! he is something so cute

that one always wants to kiss him,' reveals the sentimentalist speaking. 'The child is raw material that has to be made over and prepared for life.' It is the voice of the teacher. 'The child is evil human nature, before it has been redeemed.' Thus the medieval theologian announces himself. In our time there is one answer to the question, 'What is a child?' that increasingly is becoming dominant, and it is an answer that has not been made in the past. It comes from science. Science, that has accomplished so much in its study of plants, animals, and mechanical ways of doing things, has at last become busy in its effort to understand child-nature and learn how best to deal with children.

The period in which we live is often called the age of science — and rightly so, since during the last century science has accomplished more than in all previous time. The scientific answer, therefore, to the question, 'What is a child?' is especially representative of the spirit of our time, and it is an answer that we cannot afford to neglect or not understand.

The scientists who study child-life differ in many respects, for the investigation of child-nature has many angles of approach, but they come together in one common idea, that the child is a personality in the process of being

made. A child is not a little adult — a sort of physical or mental dwarf. It is a human life in the first, and in many ways the most important, epoch of its earthly experience. Childhood represents not merely a preliminary stage that necessarily has to precede the experiences of mature life. It is actually the period when personality is formed and from various possibilities choices are made that have much to do with fixing for all time the characteristics of the individual. In childhood, personality is given more than its foundation, since the character takes the general shape it is to carry throughout life.

Suppose we ask the scientist to tell us in detail just what he means when he says the child is a personality in process. Perhaps the answer can be made clear by the statement that childhood is a period of growth in which the most important things happen that influence each individual throughout his life. From this point of view, childhood is primarily the first and most significant part of the growth of personality. For the busy parent who wishes quickly to enter into the practical knowledge that science has gathered of the child, the idea of growth offers the most help. Indeed, nothing else so well gives the point of view the parent needs to take in dealing with his child.

First of all, the parent has to realize that the source of growth is from within the child himself. Just as the seed contains the germ of life which under right conditions of sun, soil, and rain turns into plant or tree, so the child develops by an unfolding of his nature. Just at present even the psychologists and biologists who have given most study to this matter do not fully understand the inner elements of growth so as to distinguish with certainty between the original rock-bottom elements that come to the child as his inheritance, and those that result from external influence. To make the picture vivid, we can think of the child responding to inner desires which force him with increasing skill and consciousness to turn his attention to the outer world through which he must find the satisfaction that he craves. The inner desire forces his attention outward and starts the unfolding process which quickly becomes complicated and intertwined with innumerable experiences until what was present at the start and what has been acquired through later experience are so tangled together that they cannot be separated.

The momentum that comes from within the child pushes him into experience which makes possible his growth by encouraging contacts with the persons and things about him in which he

is interested and which, as he develops, he comes to understand more and more. As the seed responds to moisture and sunlight, so the growth of the child is not only the appearing of inner substance, but a response to experiences that provide the material for growth. It is this that the scientist means when he says the child must grow through contact. It is the things he sees, touches, hears, tastes, and does that make possible his development. He is literally a part of all with which he comes in contact. He is made by what happens to him. It is easy to see this in the case of speech, since we soon discover that the child talks like his parents and finds in their language — whether it be Japanese, Hungarian, or English — the medium of expression which soon becomes for him, as for the parent, his native tongue, as natural to him as if it had been born and developed by inner instinct.

The power of the adult over the child, especially in his early, formative years, comes from the ability of the older person to influence the child's inner desires by manipulating the conditions that surround him and provide him with experience. The parent can in large measure put his stamp upon the child by controlling the environment from which the child gets the experiences that feed his developing self. What the

child finds around him largely determines the form his personality must take. The inner push and the outer contact join together in the development of the self which registers the characteristics of the child.

Merely to state these conditions of growth, to describe the situation in which the child is placed by the power of older people to decide his experiences, throws into bold relief the incomparable opportunity the parent has to direct the growth of his child. It is, of course, not an absolute power to do anything he pleases, since the child's original equipment for life, furnished by his inheritance, sharply defines the limits beyond which the parent cannot go in his effort to bring about the growth he wants his child to achieve. There are limits in body, mind, and mood. The growth process furnishes the parent his opportunity to decide the direction toward which the child must force his personality as he develops, but the limits that are set mark a boundary line which cannot be changed, for the parent finds in his power to influence growth his exclusive chance to impress his own desires upon the make-up of the child. What the parent cannot do by influencing growth he cannot by any process whatsoever accomplish. For this reason successful parenthood requires knowledge of the meaning

of the child's growth, and the skill to use its opportunity.

Whoever has charge of a child in his early years largely commands his destiny. With close contact goes also a certainty of influence. It is this fact that explains the power of the parent, which is greater than that of others who come in intimate contact with the child at the beginning of his life only because there normally develops between parent and child a stronger sympathy than between the child and his other associates. No adult who has much to do with children in their formative period can escape the responsibilities of intimacy and authority. The love of the parent does not make him necessarily risky, as one would suppose from some critics of parental behavior, but it does intensify the association that so largely determines character.

Since the child cannot avoid coming under the direction of older people, who at first almost entirely decide what sort of experiences he is to have and under what emotional conditions, he is largely at the mercy of what is handed out to him, and his personality has to start to grow under the prevailing circumstances of his life. It is here undoubtedly that much of the leakage of our opportunity to go on to better ways of living takes place. Although parents for cen-

turies have known that what they do to the child has much to do with his later career, the full force of this has only of late become known as science has been increasingly convinced that the early happenings of childhood are repeated in the later history of the adult, and even yet the majority of parents have only a slight realization of the enormous power they exercise as the child begins making his character.

Parents still explain unwanted consequences of their own mistakes by assuming that they are the product of heredity and totally unrelated to the events of childhood. It is the business of the parent who is determined to meet his responsibilities consciously to direct the child during his formative period so that the attitude toward life, the habit and the thought that the parent believes desirable for the child may get a start at the time when the growing personality of the little one responds so quickly and so decidedly to the influences that play upon him. Whether he wishes it or not, whether he realizes it or not, the parent by the very force of circumstances must assume this task of direction. In his hands, as strategist of the home, is placed the power to determine family policy to a very great extent, always with the certainty that whatever happens to the child, at least during the first ten years,

will leave a permanent impression that later will make life easier or harder, richer or more dissatisfying, to the adult that emerges from the family setting.

The parent cannot avoid looking ahead; he has to ask himself what sort of child he wishes finally to produce. He has to pass judgment from his own experience upon the values of life in order to determine what he prefers that his child shall achieve and what he wishes him to avoid. Although in such an appraisal of life the parent cannot ever remove himself from the influences of his own childhood, in general we do find that he has a natural tendency to express one of two purposes as he directs the child's growth. One of these is to make childhood happy. No one has made this motive more impressive than Rousseau, who eloquently urged the parent to take to heart the need of the child's being happy and the possibility that the only taste of life the little one may ever have will be his childhood experiences, since the parent is given no guarantee that the child will live to grow up. The appeal of those who advocate using childhood primarily as an opportunity for happiness is strongly felt by most American parents, and especially by those whose early experiences were unhappy or who have had a

child snatched from them by death intruding upon the family circle. The policy of stressing the opportunities of childhood for happiness grows more impressive as one learns from personal experience or observation of life how clearly and constantly the adult who has suffered a harsh or barren childhood reveals the consequences of his loss.

There is, however, another point of view with reference to childhood that rivals this policy of thinking of it primarily as the supreme opportunity for happiness. There are those who are led away from the thought of childhood as a time to be happy in the effort to use the opportunity of these early years to prepare for later happiness and success. When the parent takes this attitude he attempts to utilize every resource that can be made to furnish the foundation for mature achievement. Throughout childhood, the child is thought of as a candidate for adult experience. The effort is not so much to make him happy as to give him a good preparation for his adult career, even though at the time the child may find the training irksome and cannot have any sense of the value of the routine that is being forced upon him.

Although there are parents that drive hard for one of these two goals of childhood, there is

no need of choosing one to the neglect of the other.

A wholesome parent will desire both to make his child happy during his childhood experience and at the same time lay a good foundation for later success and joy of living. At no time will this parent commit himself so entirely to either motive as to lose sight of the other. As he deals day by day with the child's needs, he will keep constantly in mind the necessity of thinking both of present and of future, as he manipulates the child's growth. He will remember that childhood is not an episode that can be left behind as the personality travels forward to greater maturity, but that what happens in the early years must forever have chief importance in the history of the individual. He will not forget, however, that if he concentrates entirely upon adult values he runs the risk of squeezing out of childhood the spontaneity and love of life that make up its distinct flavor and have so much to do with establishing that basic confidence in life which helps or hampers later behavior on the adult level. To think of childhood exclusively as either a playtime or a period for discipline involves the risk of a lopsided growth of personality.

When the parent chooses a clear and reason-

able policy, he merely determines his aim. Immediately the question arises, How shall he accomplish his purpose? This question brings him to the problem of method. He knows what he wishes to accomplish. He must also learn how to bring about what he desires. Faulty tactics may produce exactly opposite results from those which he desires. He must learn to handle children, and especially his own child. His program cannot remain abstract principles, nor can he depend upon a system of set rules. Human life is not putty that can be pushed into shape. In the growth of personality we deal with an inner life that reacts to the influences that come from the outside.

Parenthood is an art, and however successful science becomes in establishing the facts of child-care, practical parenthood will always require adaptability and the specific application of the information science gathers to the particular child that is being educated. No parent can be good and at the same time mechanical. No parent can be discerning and also rigid in practice. It is this importance of application and skill in the actual doing of things that gives to parenthood its charm and forbids the parent who has eyes to see from ever getting self-satisfied or arrogant in his confidence. The good

parent like a skilled gardener must tenderly handle each growing child with insight and find delight in seeing a unique personality start to grow into a life that will not exactly copy the parent or any one with whom the child has been thrown in contact. The good parent never deceives himself into thinking that he is molding the life of the little one in his charge. He is content to furnish the means of growth and always seeks to discover how the child can be best helped to be both happy and well equipped for life.

When we look closely at parenthood in practice, we find four common programs that seem to represent the various attitudes parents take toward childhood. In one the purpose of the parent is primarily to retard the development of the child. Here every effort is made to increase the feeling of dependence upon the parent, and often unconsciously the father or mother — and more often it is the mother — builds up such a strong emotional attachment that the child's normal growth is lessened and finally perhaps comes to an end in what the scientist calls 'parental fixation.' This means that the child does not show the usual independence characteristic of children. In his relation with his mother he finds such satisfaction that he is little tempted

to travel outside the limited associations that were naturally his during early infancy. When he does make effort to pry himself loose from her dominance, his wholesome effort is discouraged by the mother who satisfies herself by insisting that he is not yet ready to meet the temptations and dangers of the wider world.

When we get at the bottom of this policy of retardation, we find that it is most commonly built upon the emotion of fear. The mother dares not meet rivalry lest she lose the supreme place she has had in the affection of her child. She is worried when she finds that his impulses are tending to attract him toward other people and experiences that she cannot share. She is afraid of losing his affection, afraid of the mistakes that he may make through his ignorance of life, afraid of the criticism which may come to the family because of his failures, afraid of numerous consequences that her imagination builds up as likely to result if he attempts to stand alone without the advantage of her support. It is generally true that this fear is born within the mother, a product of personality difficulties which she usually does not herself recognize. Life has been too much for her, and in her affection for her child she compensates for her inability to handle the world. Her child remains

her one support in a dissatisfying life, and since she has loaded upon him all her hopes in living she is fearful lest by some accident she lose her one source of satisfactions.

Perhaps she has made some grievous mistake. To be sure, this experience often does not justify the timidity the woman feels. Even at times it is largely imaginary. But this in no degree takes from it the power of influencing the mother who overprotects her child. Most unfortunate of all, as he grows older, the mother does not in any large measure change her attitude, but continues to think of her child as an infant, requiring her assistance in every way possible, and even though the child struggles as he approaches adolescence to cut himself away from the ties that are smothering his personality, success is often impossible, since to accomplish this requires that he break away from the affection which he as well as the mother has found a source of intense pleasure.

Another program not so frequently found, but by no means uncommon, is the exact opposite of this policy. Here the father or the mother — often it is the father — overstimulates the child and handles him in such way as precociously to develop his personality. He is hurried forward as if childhood were a malady from which he

must escape as quickly as he possibly can. Behind this policy we usually find in the parent the motive of vanity. The child is being made use of to show off in such a way as to give the parent the feeling that he is obtaining distinction through the precocious maturity of his offspring. Apparently such a program often starts from mere accident; the child receives commendation for some acquirement which he has developed and which may even show an awakening talent. Just as soon as this is discovered and the father senses the fact that his offspring is receiving attention, he undertakes forcefully to push him forward.

It is surprising how much can be accomplished if the child be trained like an animal to make headway along one line of activity. But it is most disheartening in the end for the parent to discover that this training, when it is the product of overstimulation and precocious development, so often disappears as the child comes close to maturity. The youth may rebel at the program which he accepted with such docility in his earlier years and may come to have an intense hatred for the very thing which to the parent appeared the promise of genius. It is an extraordinary revelation of parental weakness, when the ambitious father or mother hurries

the child through his formative period in the hope of getting distinction by precociously bringing the child to maturity. This forcing process is equally deadly, whether looked at as a means of making the child happy, or as a process of preparing him for life. Parental vanity is as dangerous for the child as is parental fear.

A third program followed by parents has perhaps in the past been the favorite practice of fathers and mothers. This can best be described as a molding policy. The child is treated as if he were a substance to be entirely shaped by outside influences. The parent conceives the child as merely an extension of his own power. Sometimes he expects his offspring to carry on what he himself has failed to do or did not have opportunity to work out because of adverse circumstances. The parent has a sense of power as he looks toward the future and sees in his child the personality that can be made according to parental will and led into a life occupation which the parent regards as desirable. It is of course the parent's love of power that explains the popularity of this policy of molding the child. It is always the temptation of adults dealing with children that they should conceive of their opportunity as a commission to shape

the unformed life entirely according to their own belief as to what is desirable.

In spite of the large success that parents have in directing the growing life of their children, there is always a limit not only to what they can do, but to what they have a right to attempt to do. They are unfair to their child if they forget that the fundamental question is not what they would like the child to be or do, but what he must become or learn to do in order to obtain the largest satisfaction in life. He is never a second edition of the parent, but a unique personality, sometimes largely different in all important aspects from either father or mother. The molding process, so far as it is successful, often warps the personality and destroys the incentive which the child requires in later life if he is to do well the life work which he assumes. As a matter of fact, it is seldom that the parent finds in actual practice that his control is sufficient to shape the personality of the child in the degree that he thinks desirable. What comes about is a struggle between the child and the parent in which self-expression is pitted against the love of power — a contest which is decidedly dangerous to affection, and likely to end in the unhappiness of both parent and child.

There is another policy, and it is the only one

to be defended. The parent that accepts this program tries to discover promising trends in the personality of the little one, and to furnish means of growth which will permit the life to develop according to its bent. This policy steers away from interference, but accepts the responsibilities of guidance and of bringing to the child the conditions of growth. The meaning of human personality is sacredly recognized and every effort is made to help the inner life of the child to unfold itself, so that he will be happy as he grows and successful finally in his testing by the responsibilities of maturity. The parent is especially careful not to overwhelm the life of the little one by unrestrained affection or too much authority. He is not afraid to have his child grow up and he has no disposition to force the developing life into a mold, after the manner of the vain parent.

In order to maintain a well-balanced program one must keep in mind the different kinds of achievements that one wants a child to make. Perhaps these can be most helpfully catalogued under contact as a means of growth. Curiosity, or intellectual contact, emphasizes the values of the mental life. Curiosity in the child is the hunger and thirst of the mind. Because of it he is eager to see, handle, taste, and manipulate one

object after another as they come into his grasp. Soon his curiosity takes the form of question-asking in the effort to understand the various queer things that he finds taking place about him. The greater his alertness, the more eager he is to satisfy his curiosity. Curiosity stands in his life as a passageway through which the subtance goes which enters into the development of his mind. Troublesome as it often is to older people, since it leads the child into mischievous investigation, curiosity, nevertheless, furnishes the parent with considerable power over the mental development of his offspring. If he suppresses and discourages curiosity, he obstructs the intellectual growth of the child. His antagonism to the normal curious searching of the child for more experience and better knowledge hampers intellectual vigor and in time even crushes the power of being interested, so that the child is thwarted in his effort to understand the fascinating things and events of his everyday life.

On the other hand, the parent who seriously enlists curiosity upon his side as an asset to be used in cultivating to their utmost the resources of the child's mind stimulates, as perhaps nothing else can, the intellectual growth of the child. In teaching, whether carried on by the parent or by a professional pedagogue, it is most impor-

tant that curiosity be utilized rather than suppressed. Just as soon as curiosity fades away, the learning process thrust upon the child yields little permanent good.

One of the certainties of life is that the happiness and success of every child is largely conditioned by the attitude he takes in his association with others. As he grows up it is bound to follow that he has an attitude regarding his social contacts which can be said to be characteristic of his personality. This he gets from his early experience. Sympathy, or personal contact, represents something of equal importance with curiosity in the development of the human personality. Whether he wills it or not, the parent by his example and by his comments, made carelessly and often with less meaning than the child reads into them, constructs in the child friendliness and fairness in his associations, or the attitudes of antipathy, prejudice and a proneness to be unjust. What the parent says and what he reveals in his personal reactions, brought out either by criticism or by recoil, deeply enters the growing life of the child and conditions him in an extraordinary degree in his social habits.

The policy of some parents, to segregate the child and keep him as entirely as possible from

relationship with those outside the family circle, frequently weakens the native sympathy for people that children seem to have when they are unspoiled by a faulty parental policy. In spite of the friendliness that children show toward those of their own age, it is not difficult for the parent to teach them to be shy, distrustful, or even snobbish. It is far more common to find parents who have little appreciation of the significance of the social experience of the child than of the meaning and value of curiosity. The reason for this is that the policy of the parent with reference to social experience comes closer to his own prejudices, making it harder for him to have an objective attitude toward this particular problem than when he faces the need of doing all he can to encourage the mental development by stimulating the child's curiosity. As a consequence, getting on with people is found by many who have reached maturity to be one of their greatest problems, revealing failures of adjustment that limit success and decrease happiness.

Another kind of growth, emotional contact through appreciation of beauty, is, perhaps, among Americans the most neglected of all. Art, in whatever form it appears, yields values that enrich character and multiply the satisfactions of living. Although the average child

cannot respond to complicated experiences of artistic expression, very early in his life the little one can be introduced to various kinds of simple and appealing forms of art. Soon he has reached the point where paintings, flowers, trees, poetry, and even architecture, as, for example, the most imposing of public or simplest of private buildings, may be used by the parent to awaken interest and develop tastes of priceless value as a later source of satisfaction and deep-seated serenity in the tumultuous experiences of the adult. The authorities now tell us that it is just as easy to lead a child to see beauty as it is to have him destitute of artistic experience or only attracted by inferior or debasing forms.

From another quarter a fundamental human value flows into the growing personality of the child. This experience is perhaps best covered by the word 'confidence,' for the moral growth of the child depends primarily upon his coming to feel the security that is given by believing in a righteous world. No influence either in childhood or in later life can have such determining power over the morality of any individual as comes to him naturally and inevitably from those who associate constantly with him while he is yet a growing child. If the child gathers

nothing else from such contact he is bound to have his moral judgment and his moral reactions fundamentally colored by his experiences with people. Nothing baffles him more or undermines his confidence more than when those to whom he looks with assurance for truth-telling deal falsely with him. Their motive may be to add to his happiness or they may speak indifferently with little thought of the consequences of their deception, or they may even willfully desire for some selfish reason to lie to the child. It makes little difference why the deception is practiced. Just as soon as the child comes to know that he was misled, he loses much of the moral confidence that he should be building up in his early years. Sometimes the awakening is so tremendous that in the older child or youth the very bottom seems to fall out of life and without any doubt here is to be found the cause of some, at least, of the suicides of adolescence.

The little child must take his cue from the behavior of the parent, and he must also draw his moral substance from his experiences with the older people with whom he has contact. Preachment is devoid of value unless it reënforces the general current of the moral flow of the family life. When example and teaching are radically and forcefully different, the child is

pushed into moral confusion and it is a happy accident when he brings himself out of the turmoil unscarred. It is fortunate that all children are not left exclusively to the influence of their contacts with their parents, for the treatment some receive is so wretched that were it not for other associations they would be morally spoiled. It is both pathetic and inspiring to see the little child who is beginning to have all moral security blotted out of his life by bad treatment turn with passionate loyalty to some one who begins to provide a basis for his confidence. It is by such a process that many children are rescued from the evils that surround them in their early days. They become not like their parents but decidedly different by a reversal of influence, called by the psychologists 'negative suggestion.'

The parent who commits himself to a policy of permitting the child's growth along the four lines of mental vigor, social sympathy, love of beauty, and moral confidence finds his task made easier if he keeps in thought certain principles that are now well tested as guides to good parenthood practice. The first of these is: the primary effort of the parent must be to maintain a fellowship with his child that will give him at all times entrance into the life of his off-

spring — a tie that under the stress of family experience may at times be sorely tested but never broken. This loyalty which the child needs to feel toward the parent who deserves trust cannot be had by authority nor does it appear merely because of one's desires. The necessity of winning the child's love shows that he cannot be driven, nor bribed, nor frightened into wholesome fellowship with his parents. When the parent knows that this is something he must win, something that he has to bring about, by seeing his task clearly he at least comes to know the strategy required if he is to have any hope of doing justly by the child whose growth has come so largely under his power.

This fellowship is, of course, the greatest possible insurance that the child will act wisely when at last he largely takes command of his own life's destiny. In times of temptation when he faces an emotional upheaval, he turns to those whom he has learned to trust, if not for guidance, at least for sympathy and inspiration. Here the lax parent fails. Success at other points never gives the child a happy start in life. Fellowship is the alpha and omega of wholesome parenthood.

It is well for the parent interested in his child's growth to realize that he must not test the child

by isolated or definite experiences. It is the general trend of the child's growth that is most important. The parent, like the famous William of Orange, may lose many battles in his association with the child and still prove himself successful if only the campaign as a whole reveals good strategy. It is a great mistake to make too much of any definite experience in the child's career or ever to make him feel that the mistake he has committed endangers his entire success. Parents, in their eagerness to accomplish some good thing in the growth of their child, to destroy bad habits or to encourage definite virtues, sometimes strive so hard for their objective as to break down the spirit of fellowship which more than any other thing is the decisive influence of fathers and mothers.

No specific problem should ever be made a test case with the idea that upon its issue the entire history of the individual can be determined. This exaggeration of the difficulties that from time to time appear in the growth of the child leads some parents to destroy all hope of being permanently useful because in their eagerness to get results they sacrifice the larger aim, loyalty. Falling back, as they frequently do, upon fear, they merely drive the child outwardly to do what the wise parent wishes him to choose

as the result of a desire in the inner life of his growing personality. They win a small victory but lose an entire campaign. Under no circumstances should the child ever be led to feel that he has sacrificed his place in the parent's affection because of the wrong thing he has done.

Parents, like other adults, in dealing with children, sometimes have the itch for interference which is so mischievous. Parenthood never rubs out faults of character, and the thoughtless and vain person as frequently reveals his weakness in dealing with his children as he does when placed in power over people of his own age. The mere fact of being a parent does not annul dangerous tendencies in a badly adjusted individual.

There is always danger of the adult being tempted to hurry the child in his effort to get him to a definite point, by over-using the stimulating conditions that influence the growth of children. It is easy to fix one's attention on having the child reach a certain stage of growth at a fixed time, and by this insistence spoil the child's normal development. A child is not like a fruit tree which must ripen at a particular season in order to please the owner, but an individual that needs to proceed on his way through life with the momentum of growth

which is genuinely the product of the inner changes of the person. This is a hard lesson for some parents, and there will always be children who will find those closest to them their greatest enemies — spoilers of their opportunity for normal growth.

Parents often do not realize the source of the power they have over their children. The parent never commands the child primarily by coercion, for this policy leads only to negative results. The most he can do is to check or prevent growth. The influence of the parent is primarily because in his hands is so much power to direct the stimulating experiences that enter into the growing personality of the child. He influences the little one indirectly by providing the resources from which the character draws its content. The child has to become like the stimuli that play upon him, and the choice as to what these shall be lies with the parents. It follows that the parent who turns his attention chiefly to the checking of the child by the exercise of authority exchanges a larger opportunity for one of lesser importance. It is the nature of young life to grow, and the parent who accepts his obligation of directing this growth serves the child best and exercises largest control. The parent who makes it his chief purpose to en-

force his will upon the child directly antagonizes growth and makes, when he succeeds, a docile child; when he fails, a rebel.

In the end if the child is to be effectively controlled, it must be by inner conviction rather than because of any external coercion. This transference of authority from the outside to the inner life is another exacting test of successful parenthood. Outside authority operates more quickly and seems at first more successful. It is obvious, however, that in the end the child will follow his own inner inclinations in the degree that he is free to be himself and that his only safety lies in having inner standards and impulses that lead him to accept whole-heartedly desirable conduct. At a time when freedom is so common among children, and supervision exceedingly irksome, there is all the greater need of the parent's leading the child to a self-control that can meet the test of modern life. It certainly is an unwise policy to govern a little child in such a fashion that although he follows obediently the parent's will he is so crippled in the development of character and understanding of responsibility that when he arrives at the adolescent experience, when the power of the parent to enforce obedience decreases, the child discloses that he has not had the training that

enables him to make good use of his greater freedom. The aim of the child should be to become self-governed. Constantly the parent should keep in mind that he is not merely trying to get certain things done or habits formed, but that he always expects, in addition, to win the approval of the child so that desirable conduct may be acceptable to the child's deepest inclinations.

The word 'loyalty' interprets this rôle of the parent more distinctly than 'obedience.' Obedience often represents merely the child's response to the authority of command. Loyalty emphasizes the child's eagerness to ally himself with the things the parents do in which he has learned to find personal satisfaction. Loyalty is a stronger word because it includes the motive of affection while obedience may only signify the fear of punishment for deviating from the word or command of the parent. The loyal child is eager to follow the request of the parent, from inner approval.

REFERENCES

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child and his growth as a personality is traced by J. C. Fenton, in *A Practical Psychology of Babyhood*, chapter XIII. Advanced students will study the works of A. Gesell, G. S. Hall, B. T. Baldwin, and H. K. Woolley.

CHAPTER II

DISCIPLINE

DISCIPLINE is one of the most common topics of conversation among mothers. As the term is used by them, it refers primarily to questions of policy with reference to the punishment of children. Often the request for assistance from specialists in regard to a program of discipline comes out of the desire for some mechanical formula that can reduce the task of the mother and father to mere routine. Such a request is impossible to satisfy because the parent is never safe in treating the child by any sort of cut-and-dried system.

Discipline, when used in the narrow sense of punishment, is the negative side of motivation. In growing up, the child must be led to behave in accord with the desire of the parent either by being attracted to wholesome conduct or by the use of some sort of penalty which forces withdrawal from behavior that is disapproved. No organization can carry on its work efficiently without some form of coercion which leads its members to act in accord with its interests. This is true of the family. The home has no choice, for whatever its policy, children will ac-

quire habits of some sort, and the attitude of the various members of the family toward the conduct of any individual is sure to be expressed. The home, however, can choose between an emphasis upon the positive motive or the negative penalty. When the parent, for the good of the child, has to stress penalty, he must at the same time recognize that there has been a failure to lead the child toward desirable behavior. It is the appreciation of this fact that leads modern child science to stress the need of drawing the child toward proper conduct rather than of depending upon any sort of punishment as a chief means of getting him under control.

In the practice of parents there are two extremes: on the one side harsh discipline gradually turns the child into a rebel or spoils him for independent and aggressive conduct: while on the other hand the easy-going, indifferent parent makes it difficult for the child to acquire responsibility and self-control. There is no place where the value of the golden mean is more clearly evident than with reference to discipline.

Good discipline must be clear, for the child cannot be held responsible for that which he does not perfectly apprehend. It should be just; for example, it is an unfair advantage some par-

ents take when they insist upon the child leaving something to him extremely important without a second's hesitation to carry out the trivial command of the parent who has no sense of the reasonable rights of the child. Good discipline must also be consistent. Nothing is more disturbing to the child or destructive of his sense of confidence in the parent than to have great variations in the parent's attitude from day to day, even from hour to hour. He never knows whether the parent is going to be strict or lax, and out of his uncertainty comes lack of respect for family authority. The parent, to do well by the child, must keep himself free from strong emotion. When anger arises, or the determination to dominate out of the pride of authority, the parent is ill-prepared to govern the child. Obnoxious as the doctrine is to many parents, it is nevertheless true that he who would control his child must first learn to control himself.

THE STARTING POINT OF GOOD DISCIPLINE

When we think of 'disciplining' a child, we usually think of punishing him, until we take a second thought and remember that discipline is just our way of getting a child to do what we think he should. Every time we have to take a stick in hand — literally or figuratively, for

keeping a child after school or sending him to bed early is nothing more than a refined sort of stick, intended to make a child 'mind' by holding force over him — we admit that the child is too much for us.

It is well for us to admit this, since our admission is the first step on the way to getting an understanding of him. Perhaps no grown person ever sees plainly what is going on within a child, but certainly that adult is least successful in penetrating the child's motives who does not even know when he fails to size up a situation. If we are never at a loss in explaining why a child misbehaves, we may well suspect that we are so color-blind as to be ridiculous in our comments on the child's actions; the dozen cases that seem to us pure stubbornness may represent as many different traits, ranging from shyness to a craving for notoriety.

Our concern in disciplining a child is twofold: first, to see him as he is; and second, to steer him toward what seems to us a desirable course for him. To do this we have to learn to observe rather than judge, and help rather than hound. Is the 'bad boy' underweight? the 'lazy fellow' overweight? the 'mean child' a member of an unhappy household? the 'good boy' lacking in vitality? the 'brilliant girl' suffering from

shut-in characteristics? Instead of punishing some of these and egging others on to over-develop traits that are already full grown, we need to dig out the root causes in each problem of child-behavior and plant new conditions that will change the resulting situation.

Here we make use of the work of the child clinic, the juvenile court leaders, psychologists and psychiatrists. Taking what each has to offer that is of practical value for us, we make the technique of the *conditioned reflex* and the motive power of hidden desires the 'Gold Dust Twins' that do all our work. If a child is too much for the parent, he needs to be taken to a child guidance clinic where he — and the parent — will be studied and a diagnosis made of the condition found. If the parent would get results from his disciplinary measures, in terms of improved behavior, and not merely satisfy his wounded pride by avenging his outraged feelings on the child, he must shift the burden of responsibility from his own shoulders to the child's and content himself with awakening in the child eagerness to meet his obligations.

HOW TO AVOID DON'T'S

For some years we parents have been adjured by psychologists never to say 'Don't' to a child.

We have not so often been told definitely how to manage to carry out this simple but all-inclusive command. In the child's first years, when 'don't' rushes oftenest to our lips, the technique for minimizing its place in our vocabulary is simple. Luckily, almost every negative command can be translated into a positive one.

'Don't make a noise!' becomes 'Hush! See how still you can be. Who can be the quietest?' Preferably a reason for the special need of silence will then be given, and soon the child is pleased by his ability to recognize those circumstances that call for quiet.

'Sh! Nellie s'eep,' whispers the two-year-old, and tiptoes off, proud to have met a situation in adult fashion.

There are, of course, times when an emergency must be met by the terse 'Don't touch,' that protects from danger, but these are few, and the one negative command is appreciated as demanding unquestioning instant obedience, if its use is duly restricted. The many times when one is tempted thoughtlessly to avail oneself of this keynote of superficial attempts at discipline are readily met in other, more constructive ways, once their importance is realized.

'Don't bang the piano!' is replaced by 'Gentle! Touch the piano gently,' with an illustra-

tive gesture. At the first banging age, so dangerous to the well-being of one's Lares and Penates, the child is very susceptible to suggestion, as well as being wide open to imitation. An act performed, he quickly copies. A tone of voice, be it gentle or staccato, immediately calls forth response in like mood. 'Don't bang the piano!' is likely to be uttered in a nervous tone of pent-up irritation, suggesting the parent's readiness to do some banging himself if obedience is not forthcoming. 'Gentle! Touch the piano gently,' is more likely to be spoken in the soothing tone of one who is himself in gentler mood. Even if the child were so young as not to grasp the meaning of the words, their effect on him would be noticeable. If you doubt this, try speaking to the child in a foreign tongue, when next you have occasion to shunt off his energies.

When one cannot think quickly enough to change a forbidding command into a compelling one, one may at least follow up one's negation by a positive leading on of the child's interest and urge to activity. 'Don't hit the puppy; pat him,' with an example, will switch the little tot from one motion to the other.

Many times the child of one year or a few months over is caught on the point of throwing a semi-precious object to the floor. Speed is the

first requisite in the parent's reaction. 'Don't throw the doll; bring it to me,' will generally avert the catastrophe which a bare 'don't' would only have precipitated.

POSITIVE DISCIPLINE

As with the little child, so with the older one, only in more complicated fashion, can discipline be put on a positive rather than a negative plane. Instead of the perpetual 'Don't let me hear that slang word again,' suggest a vivid, meaningful word that is in good repute, to take its place. This is easier said than done, but once you have secured a workable substitute, you have achieved more than by limiting the child's expression.

The older, as the younger, child wants not to be told what he must not do, but helped to find legitimate things that he will want to do. Forestall the 'bad' behavior of the three-, six-, and ten-year old by providing the means for hearty, active play. Put a swing on the piazza, a see-saw in the attic, a trapeze in the back hall, parallel bars in the back yard, and see what happens. When the child is twelve, fourteen, or sixteen, give him a chance to develop whatever interest he shows, so that he will have something to fall back on in those times when the loose ends of

ordinary occupations wave free and he is ready to fall into any proposed deviltry, just because nothing else claims him.

Again, as with the younger child, instead of only forbidding, substitute an acceptable activity for the one debarred. Do not merely pass an edict against joy-rides. Put in their place a properly supervised hiking club for boys and girls. If public dances be not seemly, arrange small dances in your own home, and the neighbors will follow suit. Are bridge-parties, much slinging of polite curse-words, and hidden smoking of cigarettes the end-all and be-all of your fifteen-year-old daughter's existence? Then you and the rest of the parents and other heroes of your daughter's circle need to set a new fashion to be copied. These girls are anxious to do the 'smart' thing, eager to feel themselves grown-up. Given different patterns to follow, they will try to perfect themselves in the new accomplishments that win their attention — horseback-riding or archery, discussion of the newest books or critical study of the truly modern artists, hand-ball or indoor tennis.

PERSPECTIVE

In our comments, reprimands, and advice to our children we are all inclined to be guilty of a

hodge-podge mingling of disproportionate values. There is so much we have to say, and so little chance to say it, that once we get started we rid ourselves of quite a number of the big and little things we have on our minds. This deluge quickly hardens the child against whatever is being said, for to be censured or supervised on so many points at once creates a feeling of being 'picked on,' which turns his attention in upon himself so that his self-pity prevents his trying to see our point of view. Even if we limit ourselves to two or three remarks, they are likely to counteract each other because of the disparity between them.

'Yes, you may take the car to-night, but don't stay out till all hours of the night, and take care you don't scratch that new paint.' Either one of these behests would be all right by itself — except that the first is too vague in its interpretation of what constitutes lateness — but together the big and little command jostle each other into absurdity. If late hours on a gay party are comparable with the housekeeping of the car, then one might as well choose which of the two orders to follow, and easily decide in favor of the minor one. Take care of the car, and one will have done half what one was told. Nobody expects perfect obedience. To forget one

command cannot be so very bad. So here goes! And car and boy whiz off for a late spree.

REPETITION — NAGGING

As soon as one finds one's self saying, 'Now, how many times have I told you ——' or catches one's self a-wearying of the constant refrain, 'Put your books where they belong; this is not the place for them,' one might as well shut up shop and go off for a vacation, for all the good this sort of 'discipline' will do the harassed youngster. For if a parent, intent on the result he is aiming for, or so engrossed in other purposes that his lips move automatically through the familiar chant, finds his line getting on his nerves, he may be sure it has long ago passed that point in the case of his child and reached the stage where it has become as unnoticed as the familiar humps in his own bed.

One wishes not to nag because it seems an unpleasant thing to do, beneath one's dignity and provocative of disrespect or even ridicule, but just because the word has so unsavory a reputation, it is almost beyond the power of any one to admit that he is himself guilty of nagging. The verb 'nag' is one we willingly use in the third person only, never, even in our thoughts, in the first person; but the habit of nagging is

not at all uncommon, and if we are honest with ourselves most of us will see that we are not immune to the tendency. Aside from our personal chagrin over the possession of so obnoxious a habit, nagging or endless repetition defeats its own purpose, for each time a command is issued it loses force, until finally it is weak as water and nothing could more surprise its propagator than that it should take effect. To repeat the formula, 'Sit up straight,' eases the mind of the person who feels responsible for the child's posture, but that is all it does, except to implant in the child, after a time, the idea that sitting up straight is a hard, disagreeable thing to do.

GETTING AT CAUSES

Instead of fooling one's self that one is onto one's job when one merely registers a subjective protest against things as they are, by nagging or otherwise indulging in purposeless remonstrance, the efficient parent tries to find out objectively why it is that Jenny will not practice or Donald stand straight. Perhaps Jenny is overburdened with school work and should not begin regular music lessons until the summer vacation; maybe Donald needs, after all, to be allowed to go out for football practice, even though he may get hurt in the process. Is there some fundamental

reason why the child cannot comply with the request made of him? If so, he would be the last person to perceive that fact and inform us of it. It is for us to go over the entire situation and see what factor needs to be changed to insure a different result.

So many behavior problems are the direct result of impaired health, that this should always be in the parent's mind as he reviews the predicament of his child. The tired child is one who is ready at any moment to get into trouble, for fatigue makes one irritable. This tiredness may be caused by malnutrition, or other bodily deficiency or functional disorder, by overwork, excessive pleasurable stimulation, or discord in the home. Whatever its origin, little can be done to change the behavior of the child until the source of the fatigue is removed and the child has had time to recover from its effect.

Every child needs a general physical examination at least twice a year (oftener in the first two years), and in the case of a child who has suddenly become troublesome this should be supplemented by a thorough examination as soon as the change of disposition is noted. In certain diseases irritability is one of the diagnostic symptoms for which the doctor watches.

Excitement plays havoc with many a child's

good nature. Too many toys, too much companionship with children or adults, an unnecessary amount of noise, an unnaturally swift succession of new sights, and the unrestrained expression of somebody else's high or low spirits—these overdoses of stimulation wear down the child's nervous control until he shouts into the midst of lively table talk: 'Keep quiet. You talk about so many things I can't understand. It sounds as if you are all fighting at once.'

Oftener a child does not know he is being tired by the overintense stimulation he is receiving, but blindly reacts to it in kind, talking too fast and too loudly, jumping about, making unwanted noises, and annoying people just from restless desire to be getting big results from little effort. Sometimes a child gets to screaming, stamping, and throwing himself into rages, because he is so stirred up he does not know how to relieve himself of inner tension.

It is generally safe to reduce the amount of excitement permitted a child, provided one allows increasing outlet for the child's natural energies. Pour less into and over the child, but put him in the way of drawing out from himself his latent powers. Fewer hours, or none, in the movies, shops, crowded streets, and automobiles, but more hours in the fields or woods, near the

mountains or by the seashore, or, if possible under wise supervision, on a farm — less contact with artificial, commercially directed life, and more contact with the elemental things of nature — this will help to re-create many a precociously jaded child. A quiet home life, with plenty of fun but a minimum of emotional scenes, be they pleasant or otherwise, will do much toward toning down a high-strung, excitable child.

STUBBORNNESS

The stubborn child may feel that only by holding off on his parents can he make them pay any attention to him. If he does not get the demonstration of affection he craves, this is one of the weapons he is likely to use to obtain a substitute satisfaction.

By paying no attention to the child when he is stubborn, and giving him a great deal of attention when he is at his most winsome, he can usually be led out of his negativism.

This chronic type of stubbornness is to be distinguished from the acute stage of 'I won't,' through which every child passes, at about the age of three, when he first learns that he can oppose his will to that of other people, and enjoys the experience, and the silent obstinacy

that appears at adolescence, when he must assert himself in opposition to any authority that would prevent his reaching mature independence. These are necessary steps for the child to take if he is to develop his individuality and initiative, and should be reckoned by the parent as indications of growth, which call for larger opportunities and new freedom.

DOCILITY

The 'good' child may be the one that needs most discipline, since his docility is perhaps but the result of a lack of vitality, timidity, excessive self-effacement, or poverty of competing interests. This child would then be the one who must have training to develop his own possibilities, rather than being praised for allowing himself to be a doormat to other people's comfort.

The one child in the household who always says 'Yes' when asked to do something, and generally remembers to do it, may be a delight to the older members of the family and be held up as a living example to the other children; yet this easy conformity does not signify great strength of character, but rather the reverse, for the child who finds it easier to do a disagreeable task than to object to its being imposed on him will be an easy mark for any unscrupulous com-

panions with whom he may be thrown. Eagerness to avoid conflict and the desire to please are by no means unmixed advantages in life outside the home, and should therefore not be encouraged in the family. This docile child needs complimenting not when he accedes to a request made of him and runs everybody's errands, but when he makes a stand against the unjust demands laid upon him and tries to look out for himself, first and foremost, making his own decisions and sticking to them.

THE RÔLE OF PUNISHMENT

Punishment, to be effective, must conform to three specifications:

1. It must be swift.
2. It must be sure.
3. It must be mild.

Unless punishment follows an error immediately, its connection with his misdeed is not apparent to the little child. Unless punishment always follows a forbidden act, its usefulness is greatly diminished; to mean much to the culprit it must be as inevitable as pain from a touch on the hot stove. If punishment be too severe it distracts the child's mind from a recognition of the connection between his naughtiness and its reward.

Since children are human, their punishment can usually be safely limited to a momentary expression of mild displeasure. To be out of sympathy with one's associates is unpleasant enough to impel one to try at once to restore himself to favor, provided the dose of disapproval has not been so strong as to awaken a negative reaction, or to make the child try to outdo the parent in expressing discontent.

REFERENCES

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CHAPTER III

THE CONDITIONED REFLEX

EVERY parent needs to have clear understanding of what psychologists call the 'conditioned reflex.' This is important because the conditioned reflex lies at the bottom of all learning processes. Some years ago, in experimenting with dogs, Pavlov, a famous Russian scientist, found that if a bell were struck whenever a dog was fed meat, in time the sound itself, unaccompanied by food, would start the saliva in the dog's mouth which normally appeared when the food was placed before him. The coming of the saliva is a reflex action produced by the salivary glands. In his experiment Pavlov substituted for the food the sound that had been made several times at the moment the dog's eyes beheld the food. Thus the simple reflex was conditioned and the experience which had been associated with its activity was made to act as a substitute for the original stimulus.

Later similar experiments were carried on in this country with children and it was proved that in human beings also a reflex can be conditioned by repeating a definite stimulus every

time the reflex operates. It has been found extremely easy to condition the fear responses of children, and such occurrences explain the fears some children have of animals. In a similar way children are taught to like or dislike certain foods, for their tastes are most often the result of early experiences that were associated with various kinds of food. For example, the child who several times took castor oil flavored with peppermint to conceal its unpleasant taste finds to-day she cannot eat peppermint candy. The conditioned reflex, once built up, can be transferred so that a child who has become afraid of a cat may respond with fright to any furred animal or even to a fur coat.

Life is for every individual a great laboratory where these conditioning processes are carried on. Phillips Brooks, because he had trouble with discipline when he taught boys in the Boston Latin School just after his graduation from college, tells us that it was a relief to him when the old building in which he taught was torn down because, even after he had become a famous preacher, he could not pass by the structure on the street without feeling depressed and reliving the painful events of his earlier failure. Indeed, in maturity the conditioned reaction becomes so complicated that it represents not

the conditioned reflex but what may well be called conditioned behavior. In the conditioned reflex we see the simple beginning of what in elaborate form we find frequently in the habit responses of adults.

The unconditioning process is a reversal of the conditioning, but it is carried on with greater difficulty because it has to undo what already has been done. An example of the unconditioning process appears when the child who has been afraid of a dog is given some agreeable experience, for example, the eating of honey at the time he comes into the presence of the dog. Little by little the agreeableness of his eating experience will undermine his fear. Often when a person suffering from some mental difficulty is helped by psycho-analysis, this comes about fundamentally by a reconditioning of his attitudes.

There are marked differences between children in the quickness with which they are conditioned and especially in the time it takes to uncondition them when a harmful habit of reaction has been established. It is obviously with the young child that the power of conditioning and unconditioning is greatest. Adults, whether parents or others who have charge of children, cannot be with the little ones without helping

to condition their responses. It is this that gives parenthood its power.

UNPLANNED CONDITIONING

Seldom do parents plan to condition their children's reflexes in definite ways, yet without giving thought to it this is what they are constantly doing, from the moment the babe appears until the day the adolescent takes a job or enters college. As one would expect, some of this conditioning is good and about as much of it is bad for the child. A great deal is neither good nor bad in itself, but is so misunderstood by the parents and others that it makes trouble for the child. A boy of twelve was eating supper with a maiden aunt who wanted to offset what she considered the leniency of the lad's parents. When Robert refused to eat his mayonnaise, she felt called upon to overcome his 'stubbornness' and made an issue of the matter — 'A child should eat what is set before him' — and after a long, hard contest came out victorious. Robert ate the mayonnaise under protest for he had previously been strongly conditioned against it. Almost immediately he was sick and the aunt had to admit that the mayonnaise was to blame, though she could not go so far as to recognize that her tactics had been faulty. To her Robert

is a wayward boy, who was just lucky enough to get the best of her after all.

It is often impossible to find out why one child dislikes food that another likes, but there are times when an adult happens to notice a child being conditioned for or against a specific food. A toddler gulped a big mouthful of the powdered soap solution Mother was using to scrub the kitchen floor. At supper that night the fluffy whipped cream, beaten not very stiff, looked so much like the bubbly Gold Dust solution that Mother was reminded of the morning accident. Little Jane was similarly reminded, but found the likeness more painful than did Mother. 'No! No!' she did not want any cream. Intent on calories, Mother tried to force a spoonful into Jane's mouth. 'Whuff!' it blew every which way as Little Miss saved herself the ignominy of repeating the morning's catastrophe. Jane, now in her tenth year, is trying to outgrow her repugnance for whipped cream and other foods of similar appearance and texture. So often are these preparations served at parties and company dinners, that she finds her distaste quite annoying. By whipping cream until it is very stiff, and coloring it pink, she finds that she can eat it quite well. Then, if it is served white and sloppy, she tries not to look at it, but pre-

tends that it is pink, and nibbles a cooky along with the cream to hide the soft, slushy feel.

Making a child eat food that is to him repellent, whether because he dislikes it or because he is not hungry, is one of the surest ways of conditioning him permanently against the food required. A girl of thirteen, whose convalescence had been slow, was about to be dismissed from the hospital, when her cousin, the doctor in charge, stipulated that she might go as soon as she had drunk a glass of milk. Having mildly disliked milk ever since she could remember, and having no appetite now for anything, yet determined to go home at once, she held her nose and downed the milk — but never drank another glass as long as she lived.

The poor appetites so common among children to-day can often be traced to a worried insistence by the mother that they eat, when they have no hunger. Calorie-conscious, and besieged by dietitians to consider the vitamins and mineral salts, the mother knows not what to do when Edward and Annabel refuse to swallow the day's allotted portion of spinach or porridge. Fearing lest Malnutrition descend on her youngsters, she tries frantically to get them to consume their quota of calories and mineral salts, forgetting that it is weekly averages that count, not a

single day's amount. Perhaps the children are 'off their feed' because they had stolen sweets just before dinner, or maybe they are coming down with a cold, whose first symptom is loss of appetite. Whatever the reason for their temporary distaste, being forced to eat food they do not desire conditions the children against that particular food. Then whenever this experience is repeated, as it is almost sure to be, the conditioning is reinforced, until in time the appearance of the required food not only checks the flow of saliva but may induce a feeling of nausea. Similarly, children who are constantly urged to eat a little more than they want, in the hope of overcoming a tendency to malnutrition, are conditioned against food in general, so that they become poor eaters.

PURPOSIVE CONDITIONING

Purposive conditioning, again, may be either good or bad for the child, while much of it is neither especially harmful nor helpful. Though purposive, it is often carried on by parents and others who have never heard of conditioned reflexes. Fanny, homely but good-hearted mongrel, stands over the infant rolling on the floor and suffers numerous whacks from the creeping baby, that express the little human's joy in movement. Enters the Conditioning of Baby's

Responses. Fanny is conditioning him toward herself and all other canines. The parent, noticing the closeness of the two, decides the direction in which he will permit the conditioning to proceed. Worried about the sanitation of Fanny's cold, wet nose, he may say, 'No, no; dirty. Don't touch the dog. Fanny! Here! Come away from that baby!' And, continuing this policy, the adult may always say, 'No! Dirty!' when the dog comes near the child, at the same time making gestures of avoidance, so that the youngster grows up associating with the presence of the dog a bodily shrinking as from that which is repellent. Or the parent may feel that reliance on the friendship of the dog is worth more to the child than a rigid avoidance of the risk of parasites, and watch the two multiply their early contacts, confident that 'if the baby gets used to Fanny young enough, he'll always like dogs.' In other words, this parent is allowing the child to be pleasantly conditioned toward the dog, while the other was painstakingly conditioning the child against the animal.

THE PLACE OF CONDITIONED REFLEXES IN 'DISCIPLINE'

The tiny baby's swallowing reflex is quickly conditioned, so that merely being handled in the

customary way, preparatory to a feeding, makes him stop howling and open his mouth for food, upon being placed in the bed where his mother usually nurses him even though she is not there. While still an infant in arms he has but to see a door slammed a number of times, for his winking reflex to be so conditioned that instead of blinking at the sound of the banging door, he winks just before the noise occurs. A few months later, when he begins to creep, he touches a too warm radiator, jerks back his hand, and after a few such experiences becomes so conditioned that he will pull back his hand just *before* instead of just *after* it touches the radiator.

Similarly, the little child readily learns to stop short of doing whatever is consistently forbidden by his parents. Surprisingly enough, it is not even necessary to punish his transgressions, save by the stern 'No,' without a sign of a twinkle, that cuts him off momentarily from adult approval. Mr. Eighteen-Months is on the point of pouring his cup of milk on the floor. At the second when the floods are about to descend, he says 'No,' and hands the cup to his mother. At another time when quite alone in the room and supposing himself unobserved, he may be noticed going through a similar performance.

That the parent's task does not summarily

end with the teaching of this early obedience is due to the fact that the child's powers are stirring within him, pushing him on to new exploits. Seeing an adult pour milk into his cup, he must try for himself this fascinating manipulation of the showy fluid. If not given a legitimate chance to do this, by the provision of a small but solid pitcher of milk which he may pour onto his cereal or pudding or into his soup, his training in regard to pouring milk onto the floor is in danger of sudden extinction.

So, with other training. He is told, 'No, Baby might get hurt,' whenever he starts into the street alone. In time he learns to go to the curb, say, 'No, Baby hurt,' and go back to the middle of the sidewalk. But his eagerness to do makes him quick to welcome the invitations that are bound to come from the street and beyond.

MULTIPLICITY OF CONDITIONING AGENCIES

If the conditioning of children were always planned, it might be possible to mold them as one willed, but fortunately the matter is not so simple. They are protected from many of the mistaken goals we would choose for them by the fact that in conditioning for or against one thing we often unwittingly at the same time condition for or against other things. In order

to build up aversion to dirt, we commonly create also antipathy to much that is wholesome, whether dogs or exploration, hard work, or real play.

Besides working at cross-purposes with ourselves in trying to bend a child toward this experience and away from that one, we are assisted and counteracted by every person and thing with which the child has contact. Do we say, 'No; no candy for Baby; it's not good for you,' and expect our forbidding countenance and voice, repeated often enough and without an exception, to turn the trick? Well we know that the sight of other children delightedly munching candy offsets anything we can do, and that the child has but to take one taste to find out which way his leanings go.

So it is, though less visibly, with other experiences. We condition the child toward churchgoing by awarding it as a treat for good behavior in his early years, and sharing with him our own genuine enjoyment of it, but from the moment he begins to mingle with other children he finds himself, it may be, laughed at for being so 'babyish' as to enjoy what they despise. Treated as one of them only when he pretends also to dislike everything churchly, he is again being conditioned in opposite directions.

STRATEGY OF PARENTS

Here, as elsewhere, the parent's chief advantage lies in his getting in on the ground floor. In regard to many things he is first to condition the child, and therefore gets the heaviest returns for his efforts. Those who come later find the territory already occupied, and must first uncondition the child before they can recondition him to their pleasure. Even then the original conditioning can often be reinstated by the parent who is either naturally skillful in 'managing' people or familiar with the technique of conditioning.

In this power is risk, for parents no more than others are omniscient in their appraisal of a child's individual needs. But since we are conditioning our children all the time, whether we want to or not, we are better able to curb our influence if we see something of the probable effect of our yet unsaid words and undone behavior.

DRAMA AND MELODRAMA IN THE HOME

As a horse shies at the spot where terror met him, and, nervously handled, will repeat his flight of yesterday when he gets to the same turn of the road, so a child is deeply affected by any exhibition of melodrama in the close circle of his daily contacts. Does Mother, over-

wrought by the impossible demands of never-ending duties, scream when the infant lurches into sudden danger? By so much the baby's poise is shattered, not on this occasion only, but in all similar situations to come in later life. His reaction may be a cowering from the unfamiliar, or it may be a thoughtless bravado, intended to draw from the bystander startled expressions of concern.

If ever a father lets passion invade his tones and face when he is upset by a child's disobedience, he is teaching the child to react to a tense situation by a pointless explosion of nervous energy.

So it is also with unrestrained passion of the tender sort. The parent who is excessively demonstrative toward his child marks their relationship in a way that will long trouble the child.

Drama has its legitimate place in starting off the child toward a new way of acting, but it must be restrained and appropriate drama if it is to be beneficial. The dramatic thrill that comes to the child who successfully achieves a new and daring feat of balancing, whether in creeping downstairs, serving soup, manipulating a strange swing, or climbing a tree, is a good send-off in his quest for harder fields to conquer.

Being conditioned to attack difficult problems with zest, he is developing an attitude that can be turned to good account in building later habits.

INCIDENTAL CONDITIONING

The occurrences of playground, street, and school condition the child, often without the knowledge of parent or teacher, so that he attaches to himself queer little kinks of behavior, hampering worriments, and advantageous sets of action.

Going out into the yard to play has so often been followed by jolly good times in the sunlight or exciting adventures in rain, snow and wind, that the child's approach to his accustomed play-spot is the signal for a rush of cheerful, enthusiastic spirits, no matter how fussy he was until that moment. A picture of this conditioning by physical surroundings that have long been associated with pleasant activity is given in adult terms in Kathleen Norris's 'Her Son's Wife,' when worry, disappointment, and fatigue drop from the well-seasoned teacher daily as she enters her beloved schoolroom.

Ridicule from playmates because he wears stockings instead of socks as they do, or *vice versa*, makes a child uncomfortable unless he

follows the customs of his locality. If he has many such disagreeable encounters, he becomes unwilling to meet new people, though he may not know why.

The child that is having a hard time learning to write uses many muscles besides those of his fingers and arms. His toes dig into the floor, his tongue wallops around the inside of his cheek, and his nose almost touches his pencil, as he tries to control the movements of his hand. When writing has become easy for him he still tends, when doing a piece of difficult written work — 'thank you letter' or required 'composition' — to enact in a mild degree these same contortions that accompanied his early desperate attempts in orthography.

CHARACTER-BENDING BY CONDITIONED RESPONSES

One person is violently and continuously homesick, when moved out of the accustomed place or routine, and another reacts to a new locality or régime with exhilaration. The set toward one or other of these modes of response is given by little happenings of the early years, when the child repeatedly experiences pleasure or distress in connection with environmental changes. Usually the child's pleasure is an index

of his feeling of adequacy in dealing with a situation, and his distress commensurate with his feeling of inadequacy. For this reason, the younger he is when he begins to go about and meet people, the less likely he is to shrink within himself, since he is too objective in his early years to worry lest he fail to come up to other people's expectations of him. By venturing abroad — be it only into the neighbor's back yards and kitchens, at first — he is almost sure to meet with enjoyable experiences, being treated as an equal, perhaps, by some older people and as a superior, surely, by the younger ones. Then, instead of associating pleasant experiences only with the accustomed places and people, the child of three or four has already a store of pleasantly conditioned responses tied up with travel and new faces.

Similarly, being left by ourselves to accomplish a piece of work pleases some of us and troubles others, according to how we have been conditioned toward experiences of this sort. While it is true that our conditioned responses are always being strengthened, or weakened and replaced by others, yet those which were established in childhood have greater weight because of their many repetitions. The child who is allowed to carry through difficult undertakings

by himself, when he begs for the privilege, not forced to assume responsibility that he dreads, is in a fair way to be so conditioned toward self-dependence and initiative that the opportunity to do anything on his own will always rouse him to attack his project with energy and confidence.

RECONDITIONING

So much of the earliest conditioning of children is beyond the control of any parent, that one must become adept at instigating the process of reconditioning. This consists in two steps:

1. Breaking the connection between the attendant circumstances and the main happening.

2. Tying the main happening up with a more desirable set of attendant circumstances.

For instance, if a child has come to dislike some simple food because of being made to eat it, one removes all compulsion in regard to it, and, if practical, keeps the food out of sight for a few days. Then introduce a minute quantity of it at a time when the child is particularly happy, perhaps at a picnic or impromptu party, when his pleasure in the occasion might be great enough to override his distaste, and his desire to

be thought well of by his companions would prevent his showing any disgust he might feel. This would break his idea that he could not eat the repulsive food, and a few similar experiences, in which it appeared in slightly larger quantities, would change his attitude so that he might cease disliking, and even finally enjoy the food.

The ease and rapidity with which such a program can be carried out depends on the strength of the feeling involved in the earlier conditioning, and on the number of times the conditioning circumstances occurred in conjunction with the experience in question. For example, a year-old child that choked and spluttered in his efforts at resistance when first given milk from a cup, so that he had a disagreeable time of it, would be unwilling to try taking milk in this way the next time it was offered. The parent or nurse, by insisting, would create another unpleasant incident connected with milk-in-a-cup. A sufficient number of such experiences, alternating with the accustomed pleasurable sensations involved in sucking milk from a bottle, would set the child against milk-drinking from a cup. Children of two and three years, who have been thus conditioned against the adult mode of drinking milk, are exceedingly hard to

wean from the bottle unwise indulgence has too long allowed them, and may never quite enjoy drinking milk from a cup or glass, though they readily drink water or orange-juice in this way, but take the major part of their daily ration of milk as spoon-food, pouring a half-cup of milk over cereal or pudding, and continuing this habit into their eighth or ninth year or longer.

If milk-in-a-cup had been presented at the eighth month, or earlier, when fewer hundreds of pleasantly conditioned experiences had been connected with bottle-feeding, there would have been less struggle against the new milk receptacle. If much struggle did occur, the infant should not have been forced to go through the hateful procedure, since this forcing was in itself enough to condition him strongly against milk-in-a-cup. Instead, the effect of his unpleasant encounter with the cupful of milk could have been counteracted by immediately introducing a new stimulus, either pleasing or indifferent, such as carrying the babe into another room, or shifting him to a different position, speaking to him in a tone other than that which accompanied the presentation of the cup of milk, or handing him a spoon or other object. Anything not directly connected with the un-

pleasant milk episode will break its effect on him, if it meets his attention quickly enough.

Then, after an interval of several hours or days, the offer of milk in an adult container may safely be repeated. This time, let it be a noticeably different container — perhaps a thick glass or a cup of smaller size, china instead of metal, or *vice versa*. Also, let the setting be as different as practical — outdoors instead of in, or upstairs instead of down, in the kitchen instead of the dining-room. Be sure the child is especially happy, though not excited, before beginning. Perhaps it is the time of day when he is always most serene. He has just expressed his satisfaction with life by a crow or a grin. Offer the milk and note his reaction. If he is interested, let him experiment, but do not urge him to go further than he will. If he pays little attention, take it away, or drink it yourself. Do not compel him to try it. At another time repeat the experiment, going just a little further, if there is no adverse reaction. Do this again and again until the child has comfortably achieved the entire act of taking at least a sip of milk without being forced. In time he will enjoy drinking milk from a cup — and the parent will have learned that it is easier to guard against bad beginnings, time-consuming as this is, than to correct them, once made.

Of course, nobody can protect a child from every wrong start in his accumulation of conditionings, but the more wisely he is guided in his first three years, the fewer changes have to be made later, when changing is so difficult.

REFERENCES

The Normal Mind, by W. H. Burnham, contains a wealth of material regarding the conditioned response, and parents are likely to find it most useful. Chapters III to VI are especially good and chapter III gives simply but in detail Pavlov's experiments. The social importance of the conditioned response is brought out forcefully by J. K. Folsom in *Culture and Social Progress*, pages 82–89. The parents of the young child will appreciate Jessie C. Fenton's *A Practical Psychology of Babyhood*, pages 167–69. Advanced students will desire to read the various articles and books by J. P. Pavlov.

CHAPTER IV

HABIT

HABIT permits the acquiring of ways of doing things so that the activity, whether it is chiefly feeling, thinking or acting, may be carried on easily, effectively and without attention. In human beings it largely replaces the instincts with which animals are equipped and has the advantage of being learned so that the individual is not forced to follow automatically from the first a set way of doing things established at birth.

Habit is made possible by the plasticity of the human nervous system, especially the brain, which receives and reacts to its stimuli so that it is permanently charged by the experience and can, when the appropriate stimuli reappears, perform the same activity again more efficiently and with less attention. The wealth of possible brain connections enables man to have many and very complex habits.

This freedom in forming habits gives man much of his superiority over animals. It permits the building of innumerable social habits, which are continued from generation to generation, building what we call civilization.

Habits are more easily made by children than by adults because the nervous system is more plastic. Certain habits are, however, more easily acquired at one period than earlier or later. The fundamental physical habits are most successfully formed by the child before he is ten. What we call growing up or getting educated is chiefly increasing the number, the complexity and the value of habits. As a result when we think of the meaning of the character, personality or the self of some individual we find that we are primarily describing his habit-life.

Since habit forms so large a part of the life of any person it largely determines success and happiness. This making of habit occurs early and, once accomplished, change is made with difficulty. The psychiatrist in his effort to help individuals who are by habit reacting unwisely to their circumstances attempts the re-education of the individual by destroying some habits and starting others.

The more frequently an act is performed and the more pleasantly, the stronger is the tendency to construct a habit. In re-education, therefore, the length of time the habit has gone on and the emotional response it has received, along with the age and intelligence of the person concerned, decide the possibility of success.

GOOD HABITS

Good habits are usually thought of by the person who has to do with children as those that make child care easier. There is a long list in the mind of any mother:

Waking not too early in the morning
Brushing the teeth without being told
Eating neatly and happily
Closing doors quietly
Putting away toys

and so on all through the day.

While it is conceivable that such habits are valuable for the child, since they teach him to wait on himself and allow for a restful routine, we know when we think about it that the door-slamming, unbrushed, cluttering youngster is often more self-reliant and less nervous than the properly habited one.

These comfortable habits of orderliness that make us easier to live with are worth cultivating, but not worth worrying about since at best they are the embroidery and not the framework of character.

Other, grander habits are the birthright of every child, without which he is seriously handicapped either for pleasure or work. Habits of straight thinking, regardless of whether the out-

come of the reasoning be a pleasant or a bitter dose; of daring to use a short-cut or beat out an untried path; of seeing the other person's point of view — such habits mean much in the life of the child.

GOOD HABITS: HOW TO HAVE THEM

Granted, then, that we at least question the ordinary run of habits called good before bothering a child overmuch about them, how do we help to build a 'good' habit?

In the first place we do not pester a child if we want to get results. We cut from our repertoire all the variations of the 'Now, Barbara, hurry up and get your hands washed' theme, because this teaches the child that we think of her hand-washing as a dreary job to be got through because we say so. The child's love of doing is so strong that she enjoys almost any activity if introduced to it little by little so that it is not beyond her powers.

Of course left to herself, she would wash her hands for hours at a time when she first got a chance at soap and washcloth, and later, as she became able to do it well, would lose interest in the performance and practically give it up in her search for harder fields to conquer. This is where habit comes in, and by capitalizing the

child's early interest in an activity — be it tooth-brushing or star-gazing — starts him on the road to mature use of his resources.

That habit is strongest which was begun happily and has been kept up pleasantly without a break. To do the same thing every day may be difficult but it is not half so hard as having to decide whether to-day is to be an exception, and if not, why not. It is far easier for a three-year-old or a six-year-old to take a daily nap than to take only three or four a week. If he is accustomed to falling asleep at one o'clock and expects to do it, he probably will, but if he begins wondering whether he can get out of his nap again, he is all set against going to sleep. A new habit is starting, which, though younger than the other, is strengthened by its highly pleasurable tone. The child cannot give himself up to his habit of falling asleep right after dinner, but is torn between the two habits of going to sleep and not going to sleep. Many a mother has learned this by experience with her first child, and vows that she will make no exceptions to the rule of the daily nap when her second baby comes to the debatable age of two.

The rules for habit formation are three:

1. A dramatic beginning
2. Pleasure in doing
3. No exception

The keener the attention paid to a new habit, the more readily is it learned. A child is so interested in everything about him, especially if permitted to handle it, that he supplies his own dramatic emphasis at the beginning of a new habit; and all the adult need do is to give him free rein in the matter of starting a habit when he is ready for it. Often this will not be the time when the adult expects the habit to sprout, but whether it comes earlier or later than the average, it will flourish best if begun when the child is eager for it.

Adaptation of child to habit and of habit to child will have to be made. If the six-year-old begs for music lessons, and the four-year old pounds the piano keys, this does not in itself mean that they are ready to establish the habit of practicing scales. It is more likely to mean that the four-year-old wants to make a big noise, and would appreciate a tin pan and a stick to drum with, while the six-year-old thinks it would be very grown-up to have music lessons, because that is what the neighbor children are doing when they cannot come out to play. Either of these vague desires can be turned to good account by gratifying them in the simplest way. The four-year-old can learn to beat out simple tunes, and the six-year-old may indeed

have music lessons if they are short and primitive in form. The habits of recognizing and expressing rhythm can be developed even though the child may still be almost tone-deaf.

If a child is late in making known his readiness for entering upon a new habit, it is probably because his reactions have not been noticed when first he showed interest. Lest his time of readiness be left too far behind, the desired activity can be presented to him in a way that will attract his attention. This is best done by interpreting the action to him so as to bring it within his range of interests, rather than by introducing it in the midst of unrelated gymnastics of mind or body that are entertaining in themselves but have no bearing on the habit they try to usher in. I do not try to choose for any child a list of best habits, but, picking a few of different sorts, commonly spoken of as 'good,' I shall indicate representative ways in which they may be founded.

GOOD SLEEPING HABITS

These are probably the habits with which we have least to do. Every child is born a good sleeper, so that we have only to watch ourselves to see that we do not break him of the habit.

No exception to his regular times for sleep

will take care of the first few weeks. Extend this to include the surroundings of his sleep and it will carry him over the hard bumps of changing from one schedule to another as he goes on to maturity. Everything that goes to complete the putting of a child to bed enters into his habit of sleepiness. The accustomed arrangement of bed and bedding, the feel of sheets, weight of blankets, degree of darkness and quiet — all form part of the experience of falling asleep, so that a decided change in any one of these factors or a slight change in several of them may be enough to shake the habit of going quickly to sleep.

Every mother knows that if a young child is put to bed in another room or by a different person he is apt to have trouble getting to sleep. Many have noticed that when they are particularly busy or excited, as when special company is coming or a trip is to be made, the child goes to sleep much later than usual. This is because he is stimulated by the unusual tones of his mother's voice and the tenseness of her face and arms as she handles him. Not only the immediate circumstances of going to bed, but the chain of happenings that led to this incident make up the experience of entering upon sleep. If the toddler is usually allowed a few minutes'

play after supper before getting into his crib, leaving this out may break his routine enough to delay instead of hastening the coming of sleep.

In this as in other habit-building, the more closely the attendant circumstances are connected with the experience itself, the more easily does the whole situation unfold. A simple supper, gentle play, quiet motions and a calm voice help to lead the child toward the desired condition of sleepiness. If any stories are told or poems read they should be soothing in character, not such as stir the imagination and prevent drowsiness.

Here, also, as in all habit-formation, the more exactly the train of events leading up to the wanted occurrence is repeated day after day, the more clear-cut is the habit-pattern. Try this yourself. Some day when you are short of sleep sit after dinner in your favorite chair with a not-too-interesting book and read slowly or rest a bit before opening the book. If you happen to fall asleep, repeat the setting precisely on the following day. The chances are you will at least feel drowsy, even though you are not behind in your sleeping account. If you yield to the drowsy feeling and rest in a half-awake condition, then proceed every day for a week to carry out the sequence of situations — dinner,

chair, book, drowsiness, and you may be surprised to find that sitting in this chair at any time of day will bring on a heavy feeling around your eyes, or perhaps reading a page in the book tied up with the sleep-inducing situation will make you begin to yawn.

The reason why it is an advantage to follow a definite routine in habit-building is that each act or situation then suggests the next, as, when you finish dinner you think of your unread book, which in turn calls up the idea of your comfortable chair, to be followed in turn by a sensation of sleepiness. If any link in the chain is skipped, before the habit as a whole has become well grounded, the behavior-pattern is weakened or may be broken. Once the habit is well formed its preliminaries can be condensed, so that it will run itself off even though but a few of its accustomed forerunners appear.

HABITS OF WORK

When we have to do with a child who persists in carrying out his ideas in the face of opposition and becomes so interested in what he is doing that he can scarcely be torn away to eat, we see habits of industry and concentration in the making. To bring an infant to this point of losing himself in his play, which is to him what work is

to the adult, we have only to hold ourselves back from the temptation to do for him what he can do for himself. So long as we amuse him instead of letting him occupy himself we are crippling the development of his working habits. The child of any age gets more satisfaction out of the efforts he makes to do things than from any entertainment we can devise for him. We are usually quite ready to let the child of six or eight do what he will, because we can glimpse the relation between his hut-building or doll-dressing and the occupations of grown-ups, but in the first years it is harder for us to see anything but purposeless play in the throwing, tearing, tugging and carrying, pouring and piling activities carried on by the child — especially when we have not bothered to provide suitable objects for these manipulative operations, and the child has to improvise his own equipment, pouring ink onto the carpet, piling fragile dishes precariously, dragging a pail of dirty water sloppily about, tearing the new magazine and throwing our precious knick-knacks onto the floor.

It is during this earliest period of habit-formation that the child is either learning to be a persistent worker, ingenious in finding new ways of doing things, or is getting shunted into lines of indifference by continual interruption of his

undertakings. If we pay little attention to his urge for handling things, except to head it off whenever it threatens to inconvenience us, we are wasting the best opportunity that will ever come our way for ensuring a love of hard work.

So strong is the infant's impulse to exercise and manipulate, that he need only be freed from hampering clothes and given access to the simplest materials — a clothespin or large spool, a spoon or a smooth-edged unbreakable lid — and he will train himself to become skillful in using his eyes, mouth, hands and arms. Only one or two toys at a time, and few changes, except at the beginning of a new playtime, will guard the baby from unnecessary interruptions of his concentration on the activity in hand. Supplying him with articles of widely differing texture will develop his sense of touch, through which he makes a large part of his contacts with the world about him.

His kinæsthetic sensations he naturally enjoys, whether he is kicking and dancing at random with arms and legs or trying to manipulate a toy. This love of motion within one's body is the basis of much of the pleasure in work during the years when achievement has to be mostly physical in character.

From the crib days, when work consists in

moving a spoon at random until it chance to come within the range of vision, on throughout the rest of infancy and childhood, the same principles have to be applied in letting the habit of work flower. The few playthings, widely chosen to lead the developing powers always on to something harder and more interesting, need to be mostly tools and raw materials that invite to manipulation and offer possibilities of being used by the child to make something that appeals to him. The child must have his own regular time and place to work, in which he will not be disturbed. Nothing is so exasperating as being called away the moment one has got into the midst of an absorbing project. Let this happen time after time to a work-hungry adult and he grows so irritable that he is driven to save himself by either becoming deaf to the maddening summons or eternally postponing entrance upon another piece of work. Being continually interrupted at his self-chosen work, which we call 'play,' teaches the child to protect himself from annoyance by breaking his habit of concentration so that he works or plays a few minutes at one thing and then seeks distraction elsewhere. Like the puttering adult he never loses himself in a big job that demands all his powers, but shifts perpetually from one meaningless activity

to another until his capacity for good workmanship is gone.

As adults are influenced in their choice of one kind of work rather than another by the example of others and by their own response to materials at hand or heard of, so children 'happen' to take up one interest rather than another as a result of what is said and done by the children and grown-ups they know, as well as because of their reaction to the tools within reach.

'I haven't a thing to do' is the forerunner of hours of intent work by the child when some one of wider acquaintance with occupational possibilities lifts but a corner of the heavy spread of unfamiliarity that cuts the youngster off from the paths hewn by his predecessors.

This does not presuppose detailed kindergarten training in the equipment of the parent nor cleverness in craftsmanship: it does necessitate his cultivating the habit of readiness to share with the child his delight in contriving ways and means of doing. The little child especially likes to learn to do 'what Daddy used to do when he was a boy' or 'what Mamma did when she was a little girl.' By the time a child has outgrown the age of veneration for the childish doings of his parents he is happy to be initiated into the ways of the adult world. Building

with nails and wood or with ideas and words, he experiences a new glow of achievement at each further step he takes.

This feeling of pleasure in work accomplished depends not on the perfection of the visible result attained so much as on its meaning to the child. If the four-year-old's crayoned scrawl, folded, slashed and pasted together at the ends, swings before his eyes a resplendent Japanese lantern so that he cries, 'The Japanese do make beautiful things,' the love of production is grounded in that child far better than by overfussy supervision that makes him turn out an object fit to call forth adult admiration, but at the cost of seeming to him not his own work but somebody else's.

To allow our children to keep their native joy in work and build it into a habit of working efficiently whether at learning the ways of stars and rocks, or at solving problems in engineering, at multiplying fruits and vegetables and decreasing weeds and pests — we have to be careful not to come between the child and his work so as to cut off his natural reaction to it. If he feels the work well done and takes pride in it he is tasting the reward that will spur him on to attempt harder things after the goals he has won begin to seem commonplace. Were we to steal

his thunder by pointing out the defects in his workmanship without giving due credit to his successful accomplishment, we might so thoroughly quench his working ardor as to delay or prevent his pushing through into the ranks of able workers. Equally if we praise with exaggerated enthusiasm the child's feeble efforts, by so much we are handicapping him in his progress toward the mature level of working habits, since we are leading him to expect over-large returns for little exertion of mind or muscle; as he grows older and finds that the rest of the world does not grant him the special consideration we have taught him to expect, he is tempted to give up trying to win acknowledgment for his ability and feed himself on memories of the easy successes of his childhood until he has so far withdrawn his attention from the actualities of life as to be a confirmed weakling.

In building the habit of working with gusto, as in all habit-formation, two factors are especially important — that a pleasurable feeling be connected with the activity that is by way of becoming habitual, and that the behavior be repeated many times, at brief intervals. In the development of a habit of working well, this does not necessitate going through the same form of work times without number, but it does

mean that joy in work must be experienced frequently.

HOW TO BREAK BAD HABITS

To wean a child of a bad habit, whether it be thumb-sucking or whining, slouching or procrastinating, a few general principles can be followed.

1. *Begin early.* The younger the habit to be broken, the more easily and surely is this done.

2. *Connect unpleasantness with the habit.* A slight degree of social disapproval, expressed in indifference or a small amount of ostracization, is often the most natural disagreeable result of indulgence in a bad habit. This must always be little enough to escape the dramatic tinge that would set the undesirable habit in permanent colors.

3. *Allow no relapse.* This is not always practicable, but it is well to remember, when tempted to permit the old habit to be indulged in 'just this once,' that this would cancel our strenuous efforts thus far, since another taste of the forbidden activity gives greater prominence to its delights in contrast to the barren period of denial, and makes necessary for the second time a difficult wrenching away from the well-entrenched habit. Going back to the outworn habit not only restores to it much of its earlier

power, but breaks in upon the hold of the new habit that is being built up in its place, since the changing of habits always consists in two things — loosening the old habit, and filling its place with a new one, even if it be only the habit of ignoring the old desires.

4. *Let the new crowd out the old.* The more attractive the new habit offered in the place of the one that is banned, the more quickly and completely will the old habit be given up. The new habit may be intrinsically pleasant or it may be dramatically introduced, as by surrounding it with an air of fun, or it may be tied up with a sense of pride in well-being. It should, however, not ape the bad habit, but be as far removed from it as is feasible. Breaking a child of sucking his thumb by encouraging his twisting a button on his underwaist would not free the child from subjugation to an undesirable habit, but would only substitute a less objectionable for a more objectionable habit, and this transference would serve to perpetuate the force of the earlier habit, so that it would not die a natural death but lie in readiness to spring up again full-fledged, when the child's resistance should be temporarily lowered; or else the persistent strength of the old habit would attach itself to its substitute so that this in turn could be out-

grown only by great effort and with risk of creating a series of disturbing complexes.

5. *Instill confidence in success.* The child that feels sure he is going to succeed in getting rid of a bad habit is far more likely to do so than is the one who think she will fail. This is one reason for not enlarging upon the undesirability of the tabooed habit, for the worse a habit seems, the more ashamed one is of being its possessor and the more frightened one becomes at the thought of not getting the best of it. Shame and fear drain the energy that should be used in fighting the bad habit, and their dramatic strength overshadows the appeal of the competing good habit. The less said about the old habit, the better, so long as a good habit adequate for filling its place is being built up. The moment a child believes he can make the new habit his own, he has begun to master the old one, for he has taken the initial step toward installing its rival in the seat of power.

UPSETTING THE HABIT OF WHINING

If a two-year-old continually cries in a half-hearted way on small provocation, he can be quickly cured of this habit, by ignoring him when he indulges in it. He then associates no pleasantness with the act and is in a position to

be led away from it. This has to be differently executed with unlike children. A healthy, buoyant child can be made to laugh by inducing him to enter on a game. Perhaps the mother pretends to cry, too, until the child stops crying to find out just what is happening; then she lets him detect a bare twinkle in her eye or a laughing sound in her voice, but at once goes on with a realistic imitation of childish lamentation. The child resumes his crying, but it is now in a different tune; he, too, is pretending to cry, for fun. Soon they both stop with a hearty laugh. The next time the child starts crying as an exaggerated response to a mildly unpleasant situation, he can be quickly headed off in the same manner, for now he knows what to expect and looks forward to the joke. After a few repetitions of being switched in this way from crying to laughter, the sight of Mother screwing up her face as if to cry is enough to make the little one burst out laughing. Soon, a laugh or a word from Mother or anybody else will quench the put-on crying; and not long after this it will cease to appear.

Taken seriously, as a manifestation of unhappiness that needed to be soothed, the desultory crying would rapidly have hardened into a habit of perpetual crying, and, as the child grew

older, disagreeable whining. When this has already happened, and we have to do with a whining child, the procedure for getting rid of his bad habits differs only in difficulty from that just described. It will take a great deal longer to change the older child's habits, as they have been more deeply grooved by unnumbered repetitions, and enhanced by association with countless pleasurable experiences. But in time it can be done.

Every time the child whines, he must be ignored; after a bit his attention should be directed toward something quite unlike that which occasioned his whine. Later in the day, when his mood has completely changed, he can be talked with quietly and shown the outcome of his whining habit if he continues to let it grow on him. Perhaps he knows some older person who is always complaining. To him this seems very silly, yet he will have the wit to see that it is only the fullgrown habit of whining. Child-fashion, he may not admit that he considers the mature whine a pest, nor that his own habit, unchecked, will logically lead him to the position of the disagreeable adult, but this reticence is only by way of 'saving his face.' For the sake of his pride he cannot allow himself to declare the extent of his falling from grace. His pride is

not to be coerced, for it is with the purpose of reinstating it that he tries to overcome his bad habit.

Having called a halt to the whining habit by detaching from it the pleasurable attention it has been winning, and having given a dramatic send-off to the new habit that is to be installed in the place of the old, one can only wait for new opportunities to discourage the one and encourage the other. This is a more skillful operation than might be supposed, since any reaction that is too obvious will only cancel itself by the negativism it will rouse in the child. If he is eager to free himself from the proscribed habit, he needs no outside urging toward the new habit of self-control; indeed, continual reminders only teach him to give over the load of responsibility to the pestering adult, and even to resist the efforts being made to improve him.

The canny adult will unobtrusively watch the child's progress away from one habit toward the other, giving timely encouragement by a glance or suggestion that makes some approved form of conduct seem the natural thing to do, so that any other way of acting is automatically excluded. Nobody can merely refrain from a certain line of behavior; he has to put in its place something more desirable and cling to this until the other possibilities have lost their power.

WHEN TO BEGIN NEW HABITS

The time to start any new habit is determined by the child himself. One has but to watch his interests and make the most of them. The two-year-old shouts, 'My! Mine!' and grabs his porringer away from desecrating hands. Now he is ready to learn that there is a 'Thy! Thine!' to this business of living, as well as the passionate 'Mine!' When he snatches at something that is not really his, and utters his war-cry, he needs to be shown his error and given a chance to see that other people, as well as he, have their possessions. It is not necessary to forbid the toddler's using other folks' belongings, but he should understand that he is enjoying a privilege, not a right. From this beginning he can build a habit of not interfering with what is not his, so that he will trespass neither on the property, the time, nor the freedom of others.

Independence in its various forms of originality, assertiveness, disobedience, stubbornness, and responsibility shows its head plainly in the third year, and now more than ever before or after is open to guidance. The child will form a strong habit of depending on himself and daring to do that which is new, or he will become the victim of an equally powerful habit of cringing from the unusual and continually seeking help

or comfort. Whichever way his tendencies are thrown during this year, they will be somewhat strengthened or changed by later happenings, particularly during adolescence, but never again can they be so deeply affected.

For many habits the child advertises his best seeding-time in this way, proclaiming his readiness for the planting by the attention he pays to that part of his environment which is related to the new habit. The child that has reached the point where he can easily be taught to read notices the printed signs and labels he encounters on the highway and in the kitchen, or pretends to read from his story-book, perhaps even wonders aloud, 'When will I be able to read, like Brother John?' If he is still too young to be subjected to the physical and mental strain of lessons, his interest can be bridged over until he has reached his sixth year, by story-telling in which he takes a turn and by story-reading to which he makes contributions, either guessing at some length what is to come next, or recapitulating what has gone before.

Certain habits, notably those connected with health and manners, appeal to the child only in connection with other interests of his. When he is very young his love of action is enough to make him eager to do the things that will crys-

tallize into health-habits and habitual good manners; but as he gets old enough to look outside the home for models to copy, he rejects many of these habits as babyish or unnecessary in the press of new activities that crowd upon him. Now is the time to reinforce the earlier good habits by tying them up to new interests. Health leads to achievement in sports, endurance in work or play, freedom from sick-bed restrictions and an attractive personal appearance. Manners are the modern form of the romantic consideration for strangers dramatized by the Age of Chivalry.

Whatever habit one has in mind for a child to add to his repertory, it is important to watch for a spontaneous sign that the child is ripe for it, and, if this is not forthcoming, to strew suggestive experiences in his way, so as to discover whether it be lack of interest or lack of occasion that postpones the planting-time.

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CHAPTER V

THE MEANING OF FEAR

FEAR, one of the most common and distressing burdens men and women carry throughout life, appears early in childhood. Its instinctive basis is universally acknowledged. Recent experiment, especially that of Watson, has, however, revealed that fear in its beginning is exceedingly simple. Watson found that loud noises suddenly made beside the child or the removal of support would bring forth immediately an instinctive fear response.

These elemental expressions of fear, meager in contrast with the fear that appears in later childhood, make it clear that the fear instinct of the infant is nothing but a faint beginning of what we recognize as fear in the adult. It is obvious also that the fear that later becomes characteristic of any individual is the product primarily of the conditioning influences that he receives in his early years and that those who are closely associated with the child have most to do with the elaboration of fear habits.

Probably at the start the voice of the parent is a chief cause of fear attitude in the very young

child. As soon, however, as fear spreads itself over a wider area and is removed by its development from instinct and carried over into habit, the opportunities given older people to encourage fear are greatly multiplied. Presently we see the parent stimulating fear upon every possible occasion by warning the child in an emotional tone of voice of possible dangers. 'Don't do this!' 'Don't do that!' 'Be Careful!' and 'Beware!' are hurled at the child constantly. Often these exclamations are accompanied by threats of punishment or the picturing of some dire consequence that will follow the child's actions. Fear is also spread or turned into new channels by the suggestions of elders who themselves, through example, stimulate fear. Thus, the parent afraid of dogs or of lightning can easily inculcate in early years the same fear in the life of his child. Fear does not remain long in the physical realm of life but through social contact ties itself up with sensitiveness to the interpretations made of the supposed attitudes of other people. An example of this socialized form of fear is ridicule, which in the life of primitive people looms large and has even been known to lead the civilized child to suicide.

There is another socialized fear that rivals in importance that of ridicule, and this is the fear

of losing security. This, like the first, appears often in the life of the child, ranging from fear of losing through the coming of a second child his exclusive mother-love to the fear of losing the family approval.

Many of the strongest fears that develop in people are due to accidental occurrences difficult for the parents to control. An example of this is the fear that comes to the child who is bitten by a vicious dog and ever after becomes afraid of all dogs. In the interpretation of fear there would be less disagreement if it were constantly kept in mind that the instinctive element of fear is relatively simple and unimportant. What we usually mean by fear is the product of experience. Through this experience two different sorts of habit reactions can be developed. In one appears the continuation of the emotional outburst characteristic of instinctive fear. This, truly, is the enlargement and extension of fear impulses. On the other hand the experience of danger can be handled to create ideas of caution and recognition of danger without the feeling of panic characteristic of fear. This other sort of response is just the opposite of fear and rightly deserves to be called 'prudence' or 'caution' or 'sound judgment.' It is a habit of response built not upon fear but upon actions rationally

adjusted to circumstances and although it like fear protects from danger it does this by deliberation and insight rather than by an emotional reaction.

EARLIEST FEARS

Watson's experiments demonstrate that an infant is born subject to only two simple fears; all others are taught him as he grows up. Fear of loss of support and fear of a sudden loud noise comprise the infant's fear inheritance. Many a mother has felt her tiny baby clutch at her or start in his sleep when she was carrying him downstairs quickly or jerkily, so that he felt himself falling. All mothers know they must always move the little baby smoothly and gently if they would avoid disturbing him. Most mothers have also noted their baby's screaming cry of fear at a sudden loud noise; perhaps the alarm clock, so constantly in use to time Baby's schedule, accidentally went off within a few feet of him, to his great dismay.

But if these are baby's only original fears, how does he so quickly learn to fear strange people, the dark, and being left alone? Because, by the conditioning of his responses, one situation gets tied up with another, so that a happening not originally able to call forth fear be-

comes so much a part of one of the fear-producing events — loss of support, or a sudden loud noise — that it is sufficient, in itself, to get the same response.

When the baby is carelessly allowed to slip, while in his bath, so that he experiences a sense of loss of support, this experience ties itself up with the surrounding conditions of warm water, brightness of white bathtub, and early morning routine, so that next time the baby cries out in fear as soon as he enters his bath, even though he does not slip. If supported firmly but gently, with an evenness of touch that permits no slightest sensation of falling, his fear gradually wanes, but if he is held awkwardly, now clutched and now almost dropped, his fear extends itself until even the preparations for his bath evoke a wail of fear, and the bath itself is a perpetual howl.

If the infant was in his crib for the night, alone in a dark room, when the alarm clock shattered the stillness and woke his innate fear, the attendant circumstances condition his responses so that when he is again put to bed alone in the dark, he begins to cry in fear though no noise has occurred. If there is no noise, night after night, the fear will disappear, but if some sudden loud noise does occur, once in a while, such

as the banging of the shutter or the flapping of a curtain in the wind, or the slam of a distant door, the infant's fear is kept alive and spreads until soon it is set off by the quietest closing of the door that means dark aloneness. Then the infant cries every night when put to bed, and outgrows his fear only after a long period of finding no adequate occasion for it.

It is common baby lore among mothers that if the person holding a little baby, or standing near him, suddenly speaks harshly to another child, or calls out in a loud voice to somebody at a distance, the baby will begin to cry. The tones of some visitors are so loud or harsh and their movements so abrupt as they stretch out their hands to grasp the baby or poke their fingers at him to amuse him, that it is no wonder they suggest earlier fear-producing situations, so that the baby is afraid. This fear may be spread to all strangers, if the baby is not protected from these gruff-sounding, staccato-moving persons by preserving a fitting distance between him and them. Once frightened by a stranger, he should not be suddenly brought into the presence of a new person, until his fear has worn away by lack of repetition. Then, if his contacts are gradual and gentle, ceasing always the moment he shows signs of uneasiness, he

will not long be upset by the coming of new people.

WHY AVOID FEAR?

Does it so much matter whether a baby is afraid of strangers, the dark, unusual noises, abrupt movement? When he is older, surely, he will be like other people, so why bother to guard his early months? Just so. He will be like other people, hiding his fears, and suffering from their power over him though it be expressed in new ways. As a man grown he does not cry when a stranger speaks gruffly to him, nor flee the dark precipitately, howl at a sensation of falling. But he does pale and grow sick when he looks over the edge of a high tower, is miserable when quite alone in the dark, and fails to do himself justice in the crucial first meeting with important persons.

We do not worry lest the infant fail to outgrow his early fears in their simple form, but we do know that he may keep them always, changed in outline but none the less harmful. The timid child, undirected, becomes the shy, repressed adult, afraid to voice his own opinion, unable to stand up against other people, though he believes them to be in the wrong, and incompetent to force his way through obstacles into the success his ability warrants.

FEARS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

The day when parents tried to make a child brave by forcing him to conquer his fear, unaided, is fortunately past, though one still meets adults who are the prey of towering fears which can be traced back through different forms to the early fear that was forced down but never truly overcome.

The modern way of treating fear is to discover and remove its cause if possible, then instill a feeling of confidence that will not easily be driven out.

Playing fear games with little children, jumping out at them from dark corners, or making queer sounds from a hidden place, will, of course, build habits of looking for fearsome happenings, and it is just this expectancy of fearfulness that works havoc with a young child's peace of mind. Adults, not knowing how to play with a little child, sometimes stumble on such plays as this, as do older children. At the time, the child of two or three may seem delighted with the game, laughing and screaming in pleasure, but the observant parent may notice that afterward he is afraid to go down the hall past closed doors, or unwilling to be out of his mother's sight, when in the house, even in the daytime. To overcome such fears, one may keep the house

brilliantly lighted, and often go about from one room to another with the child, on this pretext or that, so as to get him to see that there is really nothing to fear. This can be done without saying anything about his being afraid, so that he will accept it for what it is worth and not suppose it to be merely a way of arguing him out of his fear.

FEAR OF THE DARK

Lucky the parent whose child is never troubled by fear of the dark. For there is a large element of luck in steering a child clear of this fear. The parent may meticulously refrain from suggesting any unpleasantness in connection with the dark, even quenching his impulse to refuse the two-year-old's request to be allowed to go for a walk after early dark on a winter evening, when a long afternoon nap has set bedtime at a late hour. On the tip of the parent's tongue is the conventional, 'Oh, no! it's dark now. You don't want to go to walk after dark. We'll go to-morrow morning when the sun is shining.' But he realizes that this would turn the eager Jimmy against the beckoning world of darkness, and, further, that there is no valid reason why the youngster should not take a walk at night. So the two step out together. And the world of

stars or street lights, soft winds and strangeness intermingled with the comfortable sights of daytime, make of the short walk a delightful experience for both parent and child. The parent is amazed to find how thrilling such a tiny expedition is to the child.

But soon or late the child is frightened by an older child or adult visitor, a servant or tradesman, who intentionally or unintentionally peoples the dark with bogies. This may be a stark threat, 'The Old Witch Woman will snatch you out of your bed at night, if you do things like that,' or a bare vision of terror, 'Giants are always walking around in the dark looking for little boys and girls to eat.'

This, from the lips of an untaught washerwoman, flippant butcher's boy, or child-fearing hired man, or from another child who got it from some such source, is far less uncommon than one would expect, perhaps because it makes such an impression on every child that hears it, he goes straightway and passes it on to all who are young enough to give credence to his word. Sometimes the first child does not quite believe it himself, but he almost does, and shrewdly reasons that his younger friends will swallow it whole.

There is none of us that does not enjoy being

the bearer of news or teller of tales that receive rapt attention. The perpetual vogue of such stories as 'Little Red Riding Hood,' 'Jack the Giant Killer,' and 'The Three Bears' testifies to this enlisting of fear as a dramatic agent. So we cannot blame the five-year-old who terrorizes children of two and three, but must accept the challenge he presents us, to provide wholesome drama for himself and the smaller ones. This we can do by introducing them to folk-dances, and stories that hold their attention without compelling fear.

Seldom does a child show fear at the time of hearing a story; he enjoys the dramatic tinge of terror at the moment, but later, when he is trying to go to sleep, or in his dreams, the fear bobs up, too strong to be pleasurable. If he is laughed at or scolded for being a ''fraid-cat,' his fear takes on new shapes which will command the respect of the adult. He is no longer afraid of giants. He is worried because he cannot get to sleep. He is lonely. He wants a little light, something to eat or a warm drink to put him to sleep, or he is afraid he will stay awake all night.

FEAR OF ILLNESS

So strong is the modern parent's appreciation of the physical risks of illness, that many a child

is permanently handicapped by the fear of illness built into him by one of his parents. The child brought up to the tune of 'Don't eat that; it'll make you sick,' 'Keep away from Anna, she's not feeling well and it might be something catching; you don't want to get sick,' needs but the addition of parental anxiety to this constant refrain of the risk of sickness, to become imbued with fear of falling sick. It is possible to observe automatic quarantine when any member of the household is not well, without expressing emotion. Sweaters can be put on, and unsuitable food avoided without any specific reference to health.

The parent who takes his children over-seriously is liable to feel that their indisposition is a major catastrophe, a feeling he unconsciously communicates to them. The sick child is puffed up with his realization of the important position he occupies by reason of his illness, although at the same time he is frightened at the thought of being sick. This fear delays his recovery, and in really serious cases may cast the balance against recovery, but its commonest harm is that it persists long past the period of childhood illnesses, so that the adult who often tasted fear in connection with illness is plagued by his own constant overemphasis of health risks. Is there an epi-

demic in the community? He does not merely take due precaution to avoid it; he is thoroughly miserable until it is a thing of the past. Lowering his vitality by worry, he markedly reduces the standard of his work, and makes himself a pest to his family and friends by insisting that they worry with him.

Childhood fear of illness is sometimes struggled against by the adolescent so strongly that it gives way not to an objective attitude toward health, but to a light-hearted disregard for all the laws of health. The youth then proceeds to establish in his own eyes and those of his friends his superiority to qualms of fear, by doing all the careless little things he has been trained not to do, and painstakingly abstaining from doing as he has been taught. Pointedly eating without washing his hands, sticking his pencil or fingers in his mouth, consuming vast quantities of sweets and highly spiced food, rich pastries, fried foodstuffs, and drinking copiously of tea, coffee or whatever has been forbidden, he dresses for style and not for protection from the weather, sleeps little, ignores the necessities of quarantine, hobnobs with his sick friends, and conceals his own illnesses until they can no longer be hidden. The parent is in despair, but the child glories in having achieved freedom

from the bonds of fear that made illness so prominent in his thoughts.

Yet this child is only deceiving himself into believing he has outgrown his fears. The very violence of his reaction against them shows that he has not abolished his fears, but is still fighting them by the naïve method of loudly denying their existence. He dares not take precautions because he cannot bear to admit that there is any danger. This is shown by his occasional relapses into the clutches of fear, when he is fanatic in his observance of the laws of health as he understands them, or by his secret adherence to certain formulas in which he has confidence.

FEAR OF ANIMALS

Adults who are annoyed by a strong aversion to cats and dogs realize the value of preventing or curing fear of animals in early childhood. The surest way to forestall the coming of this fear is to give the very young child a pet, that he may become accustomed to the ways of animals before he has abrupt contact with one. Since it is in the days of unsteady first steps that a strange dog is most liable to frighten a child by running up against him, the baby should have a canine friend from his third or fourth month if he is to avoid a fear-introduction to one. Dogs, as well

as cats, are under so heavy an indictment for being the bearers of asthma, ringworm, and parasites, that one may well hesitate about letting the dog come very near the baby. But if the dog be kept out of doors, Baby will yet come to look upon him as a friend, if he sees him often about and is not warned against him.

Aside from the accidental shoving or rare biting of a child by a strange dog, much of the fear of children for dogs is the result of the clumsy attempts of adults to ward off this fear. 'Pat the nice dog; he won't hurt you,' is the gist of the talk they deal out to the child so persistently, even naggingly, while they may even go so far as to take hold of the child's hand and put it on the dog. This is often the mistake of non-parents, themselves thwarted by enduring fear of dogs, who undo the patient training of the child by putting into his mind the idea of fear. The child is at first not at all afraid of the dog, but may be decidedly shy of the person who is meddling with him. Naturally this fear extends to the dog when the strange person makes him touch it. Nobody should be made to approach what he fears. Left alone, he will soon do his own exploring, but the more he is urged, the more reluctant he becomes to go near that which he fears.

To undo the child's fear of an animal, the parent may follow these steps:

1. Wait awhile. If you are sure the child will not see the animal for some time, wait several days before doing anything.

2. Use no coercion, not even persuasion.

3. Present the animal in new surroundings, when the child is in a contented frame of mind. Bring it only as close to the child as may be done without disturbing him. Choose a small animal; if a dog, a tiny puppy, too helpless to inspire fear on close acquaintance.

4. Give opportunity for familiarity to grow at a leisurely pace. Let the child see the animal often, even though but for a moment and at a distance if that is all he will tolerate. Preferably, let the child own the animal and have easy access to it.

Parents who are themselves suffering from a violent dislike for dogs or cats, due to an early experience of fear, often find that this process re-educates them as well as the child, so that they are no longer burdened by a fear they might communicate to the child. If one of the parents cannot endure having a dog about, a cat, if it gets on well with the child, may satisfy his need. Other possible choices range from a pony or donkey to a rabbit or guinea pig, and

hens with chickens are also valuable in teaching the child to take an interest in animals instead of fearing them.

If it is not possible to provide a child with pets, he can be interested in animals through toy ones, pictures and stories, with frequent visits to farmyard, woods, seashore, or zoo and natural history museum. The more he knows about animals, the less he will fear them.

It is necessary to teach a child proper behavior in regard to strange animals, but this can be done without awakening fear, if he is simply told that he must wait until he knows an animal very well before he touches it because he might frighten it. A year or two later, when he is three or four, he will want the further explanation that a frightened animal naturally tries to defend himself, which he must do in the only way he can, by running, butting, kicking or scratching.

The fear of wild animals is oftenest gained from stories and games and can in the same way be dispelled. Substitute for the story of 'The Three Bears' one of the modern stories that induce no fear, such as Milne's 'Winnie, the Pooh,' or Johnny Gruelle's 'Little Brown Bear.' Act these out with the child, and get him to make up stories about the doings of his toy bear.

A trip to the zoo when there are bear cubs to be seen at play will help.

Lions, tigers, any half-understood and dimly imagined animals are likely to be the source of fear-thoughts, especially at bedtime, when the familiar world of daytime activities retreats. These animals in their most belligerent moods are generally introduced to the child of two or three by his playmates or by adult visitors who are mistakenly trying to amuse him. If one laughs at the child's fears one simply adds to them a fear of one's own ridicule, so that the child bottles up his fears and gets on with them as best he can.

So difficult is it for the child to interpret correctly what he sees and hears, and distinguish between what he experiences and what he fancies, that he is always liable to fear the productions of his own mind as honestly as if they were flesh and blood creations. The more imaginative the child, the more he suffers in this way.

FEAR OF PEOPLE

Forcing children to appear in public to 'speak pieces' or otherwise exploit themselves has caused many of them to have a lifelong dread of getting up to speak in public. This is an ap-

preciable handicap since it turns this form of leadership over to those, often less capable, who happen to be free from this particular fear.

Letting a child mix with people from an early age, without urging him to be more forward than he will, prevents much shyness. The child of two who has not been out to play freely with other children of his age is already hampered by his lack of experience in meeting people, as compared with children who play about together.

The shy child must not be forced to be with people, but every opportunity should be taken to get him to go with children outside the family. If he is averse to this, it may be found that the playmate he is thrown with most is exceptionally belligerent. A change of playmates will then work wonders.

FEAR OF SEX

Many of the fears of adults, which cripple self-confidence and prevent happiness, can be traced back to early fears of sex, due to half-knowledge or the teachings or demonstration of vicious companions. These fears can be forestalled by the parent giving the child a sane attitude toward sex, first by achieving this himself in utter naturalness that sees beauty and dignity where beauty and dignity exist for those

who are clear-eyed to see, and then by satisfying the child's need for knowledge as it arises, neither slowing up nor hastening his progress toward a mature conception of natural functions.

FEAR OF FAILURE

Insidious is the fear of failure, creeping into the best-laid plans of those marked as its victims, and usurping the concentration they want to give to the undertaking before them, until, fascinated, they give themselves up to it and realize the consummation of the failure they have feared. This is one fear that is liable to be laid on the child by those who care most for him. Parents who regret their own failure, or overprize their own success, are so anxious to have their child carry on the cudgels they are to lay down, that their anxiety often expresses itself in doubts as to the qualifications of the child. 'You'll never get anywhere unless you wake up and attend to business,' 'Quit dreaming and get to work,' 'Nothing you do is ever done right; what do you think you're going to amount to?' 'Just like your Great-Uncle Joseph, you are, always sitting around letting other folks do all the work.'

These proddings are intended to arouse the

ambition of the child, but they often do just the opposite — teach him to distrust his own powers and to fear failure in everything he sets his hand to. Unhappy is the child or man pursued by a great ambition but always frightened by the urgent beckoning of failure.

FEAR OF INSECURITY

The child craves security. He wants security of affection, the certainty of his position in the home, stability in his ideas. Nowhere does he find absolute security, else he would be content to stay as he is, a helpless child. But if he is haunted by fears of insecurity because there is too little of permanency in his life, he suffers deeply, and may spend his whole life in trying to satisfy his childish craving for security. Adults also crave security, but the adult who still views security in terms of childlike longings is considered a weakling. The adult wants financial security, assurance of health, the esteem of his kind, the lasting affection of his mate. The child wants the security of affection that existed in his infancy between him and the parent. If this fluctuates, instead of gradually diminishing as the child grows older, he is fearful lest it fail him when he most counts on it; if it is exceptionally barren he worries lest he lose

it; if it is too intense he dreads the time of its passing. Only by an equable expression of affection that lessens in outward form as the child grows, can the parent protect the child from the crippling fear of insecurity.

The child or adult who is free from excessive fear of insecurity is the one who dares to risk present comfort for future success, to face the perils of difficult thinking to gain the heights of unfrightened awareness.

REFERENCES

There is much literature regarding fear in childhood. The following are recommended:

J. C. Fenton: *A Practical Psychology of Babyhood*, chapter X.

E. R. Groves: *Personality and Social Adjustment*, chapter VI.

D. A. Thom: *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*, chapter X.

J. B. Watson: *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, chapter II.

F. G. Wickes: *The Inner World of Childhood*, chapter VIII.

The psychiatric literature regarding anxiety, fear, and morbid dreads is also great. The student will find it easy to start study along this line by beginning with T. A. Williams's *Dreads and Besetting Fears.*

CHAPTER VI

ANGER

As a personal experience, anger is something with which we are all familiar. Anger is one of the most common problems of childhood and one about which the parent often worries. Like fear, it appears early. Watson found that in the very young infant the only cause of anger came when the child was prevented from moving his body. If his head were held, he was especially quick to show anger. Anger starts with the thwarting of movements, but as soon as the child grows older, it comes from checking strong desires and making it impossible for the individual to achieve his purposes.

The anger habits, therefore, that become characteristic of any person are not hereditary impulses or the flowing out of an original instinct but the expression of the training he has received from infancy onward. The older people who have had the child in charge are responsible for his anger habits, with the exception of responses that are directly brought about by conditions of the body, such as intense fatigue. Even when anger has a physical origin

the real cause may be the bad handling the child received from those responsible for his welfare.

There are two elements in the child's anger habit. One has to do with the proneness of the child to become angry. Here we find great differences between children. The child who is easily made angry has, of course, a hard time as he comes in contact with other people. The quickness with which one becomes angry is a product of habit, originating in the early experiences of the child. The responses the child makes when he is angry also result from a line of habit formation. Some have great self-control while others are practically destitute of any power to command their anger. The little child when he is angry screams, holds his breath, tries to withdraw, strikes, and kicks.

A definite kind of anger found among children is called the 'temper tantrum.' This is an especially violent form of anger expression and one easily acquired by the child. It usually results from his learning through experience that this is one of the ways by which he can get his desires satisfied by forcing his will upon his elders, though it may come from excessive fatigue or even at times from disease.

In the character of response it provokes, anger is opposite to fear. While fear leads to flight or

repression anger drives one to an aggressive activity. It attacks the obstacle that is balking desire. This is the biological purpose of anger, for the passion furnishes the individual with the greatest possible force he can gather in dealing with his obstruction. This appears clearly when we notice that during anger physical changes occur in the body that permit the organism to exert its greatest possible strength with the least sense of strain.

ANGER IN THE INFANT

Since the short-tempered individual is made so in his earliest experiences in this world, one must look closely to find the source of anger manifestations in the wee baby. Probably the first time a new mother notices unmistakable anger in her offspring is on the occasion of the first bath she gives him. She is far from being expert in her handling of the wobbly body, and her slowness and awkwardness unduly prolong the bathing process until the baby yells his protest at being so bothered.

The young mother who greets her new-born in a hospital and goes home to the ministrations of husband or housekeeper will wisely ask in a district nurse to bathe the baby for at least a day or two, until her own strength and alertness are

somewhat restored after the inevitable drain of the move from hospital to household. It will be an advantage for baby as well as mother if the visiting nurse can be persuaded to come for three or four days after the mother feels able to manage the wee one, so that the mother may carry out under supervision the procedure she has watched, with the nurse standing ready to take over the job the moment it begins to bear too heavily on either mother or child. In this way the mother can be trained to handle her child with something approaching the skill of the nurse.

It would of course be better for the prospective mother to get her training in baby care before she is weakened by her confinement, and while she may have a baby of more than ten days' growth to practise on, but at present this is not within the reach of most women, though it could undoubtedly be made so, were enough women to demand it. A coöperative system inaugurated by women themselves, through their clubs, could bridge the gap between lonely young wives whose time hangs heavy on their hands, and new mothers whose triple responsibility to themselves, their offspring and mate bids fair to wreck one of the three — the well-being of the child, the comradeship of the husband, or their

own physical stamina. Under professional guidance, the bride group could get the training they will later need, by bathing and dressing the infants of the mother group.

In this day when the infant's clothes grow steadily shorter and less cumbersome, and his interests generally receive right of way, it might be supposed that few occasions would arise to thwart his urge for free activity, yet one who watches an infant thoughtfully throughout a whole day is sure to find circumstances in his routine that need to be changed, if he is not to be unnecessarily roused to anger. Perhaps his blankets are pinned so tightly that he cannot stretch himself at will, or his flannel petticoat is so long and narrow that he cannot kick in freedom; maybe an older brother or sister, a maid, the iceman, or a visitor teases him by continually dangling something before his nose only to jerk it suddenly out of reach whenever his fists have almost closed upon it.

As the baby grows older and becomes a creep-about, perhaps it is one of the parents who is perpetually thwarting him by forbidding him activities to which he has a right, such as stair-climbing and object-manipulation. If breakable objects are left within his reach, so much the worse for them, for, by all that is biologically

true, they are his legitimate prey. A baby has eyes to see, and ears to hear, but before ever he has much use for a nose to smell or a mouth to taste, he has fingers and lips with which to touch whatever he meets. Especially is he keen to handle everything that comes his way, and by the complexity of his handling does he declare the stage of his advancement toward far-off maturity. He needs a simple environment with a minimum of forbidden places and objects, if he is to be serene.

Anger may become chronic in the child that is overtired, underfed or wrongly fed, because his nervous condition in itself thwarts him. He is stimulated by the things he sees and feels, but lacks the energy to make adequate response to them, and easily falls into the habit of venting his urge to increased activity in shrieks of rage, stamping or pounding, when his efforts fall short of his desires. This is especially likely to happen if he has seen some one else go through this melodramatic pantomime when crossed in a minor way.

In the same way, self-control is largely a matter of well-fed and rested body and nerves, plus imitation of somebody else. The household that is fundamentally calm in its atmosphere, with no swift changes of tempestuous mood, strained

voices, nervous movements in the daily routine of its adults is in a position to lay the foundation for serenity in its children, but it cannot stop here. To insure self-control in the young, it must provide due outlet for developing powers, remembering that a domestic calm built largely on 'Don't's' rests on a reservoir of hidden discontent and rage that is only superficially repressed, but will either burst out unexpectedly in a tremendous volume of disruptive energy or embitter the life of the maturing youth by being too long confined within his inner life. The control of anger must be in response to genuine desire on the part of the angry person. The parent can only try to awaken this desire at times when the child is not already angry, and show him concretely when he is angry how to redirect his aroused energies to more useful ends, so that he will be able to control himself.

ANGER BETWEEN CHILDREN

Especially does childish anger bother the parent when it is directed against another child, for somebody is bound to get hurt. In the family where there are several children, the parent has a chance to mitigate anger when he sees it rising, by cutting for the increased energy an outlet that will let the force of passion spread

peacefully over harmless fields. Is the two-year-old furious because 'Baby' grabs his doll? Dexterously the parent rescues the doll-baby from the clutches of the real baby and directs Two-Years into another room or a different part of the yard where his treasure will not tantalize Baby.

If possible Mother puts within Baby's reach some toy of his own, or any harmless object likely to interest him, in the moment before she extricated the doll. Otherwise, she would be awakening anger in the baby, by thwarting his free activity to seize and handle the doll that attracted him. Practically, it is often impossible to do more than satisfy the older child; but, once this is done, the baby needs to be offered an outlet for his accelerated energies, by removing him from the scene of his discomfiture and presenting him with an invitation to exert himself, be it a leaf to touch or a spool to roll. In every house there are certain favorite haunts of the Baby —pots-and-pans-shelf, canned goods cupboard, stairs to climb and descend in peculiar fashion. In times of stress Baby's brow usually grows serene if he finds himself in front of one of these delightful places, with its contents or structure teasing him to action.

Next the busy mother, if she is to enjoy any leisure or peace of mind in the next few years,

will do well to teach the two-year-old the rudiments of peaceableness. If he approaches Baby, bearing his doll of contention, she tells him, 'No. Baby will want it. Put the doll to bed.' If he accedes, and snugs the doll away where it is safe from Baby's depredations, he may play with Baby, but not otherwise. It is hard to make a child of two understand so complicated a situation, but by no means impossible, especially after a few repetitions of the sequence of events.

Soon the two-year-old will sense the fact that it is pleasanter to keep his most regarded toys out of reach of Baby's clutching fingers. Before long he will master the mother's technique of presenting something else to the Baby before he takes away the toy he wants.

Simple as this program sounds to one who has not tried it, it is flexible enough to meet many of the crises occurring in the ordinary home. Based on the needs of the individual children involved, it is the antithesis of the adult-viewed policy of making the older child 'give in' to the younger one, 'because he is little.' Such an attitude can easily be taught at other times by capitalizing whatever spontaneous generosity and protectiveness the two-year-old shows toward the baby. No good can come of trying to insist on the outward form of benevolence when the older child is

already over-wrought with anger. Overriding the two-year-old's self-assertive urge by compelling him to disregard his own wants to satisfy the fleeting desire of the infant only intensifies his anger, though he may learn to conceal his feelings and comply with the request of the adult in order to be in apparent harmony with the powers that be. No more disturbing element can enter the family circle than persistent feelings of hidden anger between its members. When such an attitude exists, it precipitates acts of 'meanness' on the slightest provocation, so that the secretly hated child finally becomes aware of his persecution and returns it in kind.

DEALING WITH ANGER

How to deal with an angry child is a problem that suddenly besets the most foresighted parents. Something must be done and quickly before the blazing one hurts a playmate or the furniture. Impulse says, 'Seize him and hold him so he can do no harm.' But impulse is wrong, for it is merely reacting with mild anger to the rage displayed by the child. The parent who only restrains a furious child is but thwarting him further, so that his fury is longer-lived and more apt to repeat itself on slight occasion.

If you would head off an outburst of anger so that it will quickly spend itself in a way that will lessen the liability of its recurrence, take a page out of the happy toddler's book. Notice how the sunny two-year-old disarms his companion's irascibility by his own utter friendliness. Three-Years menaces, 'Get out of here,' and jostles with stick and frown: Happy-Two-Years supposes this a new kind of game and laughs, 'Det out o' here,' gently jousting with his stick. Three-Years is puzzled, but seeing only companionability in the little one's face, he too begins to smile and make a game of it. Soon the two are having great fun together and crossness is forgotten.

So when four-year-old Dick loses his temper because three-year-old Ann has made off with one of the three tools he is hoarding, it behooves whichever Mamma or Papa is handy to thrust one of his remaining tools within Dick's reach and ask him to rake up the clutter, or smooth the surface of the dirt yard, or dig a burrow for a pretend-rabbit — anything that pulls his eager interest on away from the explosion of wrath.

Nothing is so sure as that every time a child lets himself go in an orgy of rage, it is that much harder for him to hold back next time. As one

step leads to another in the formation of any habit, so each step in the performance of the anger sequence suggests the next, and anger travels quickly to its climax, once the dramatic explosion has become an accustomed goal.

To sidetrack an exhibition of frenzy, the parent has three safe choices. He may deftly redirect the surplus energy called up in the child, he may honestly ignore the fuss when practicable and leave it to peter out for want of an audience, or he may break the tension of the moment by an unexpected quirk that changes the frown to a grin, and the melodrama to high comedy. Dexterity this takes, and an accurate manipulation of tone and facial muscles, for nothing will the child brook less than being laughed at. To laugh with him requires tact to the *n*th degree, based on appreciative humor rather than scorn for his weakness. 'Biggy, you look so *funny* — just like Punch in the Punch and Judy Show, laying about you with that big stick! Here, let me do it and you see if it doesn't look like old Punch.' A voice that expresses due admiration for the histrionic ability that can mimic funny Punch is the keynote to the success of this line, which is but one sample of the many that will serve. Most important is the mediator's sincerity, for unless he is really overcome by the humor of the

situation, he can do little to touch the child. If the attempt does not carry over, there is no use in keeping at it, but indifference may be resorted to, as being the opposite kind of treatment, and likely to allow the self-conscious child to step down gracefully from his predicament of unwanted anger.

PUNISHING THE ANGRY CHILD

In the practical business of being a parent, one's encounters with childish anger are not confined to incipient outbursts that can be dealt with in their early stages. Anger moves quickly and often precipitates itself into disastrous results before the adult has any inkling of its coming. A shriek from the next room or a scuffle in the back yard tells that Billy has lost his temper again and let loose with fists and feet to fell the playmate that is the cause of his anger. If the whacked playmate is big enough to retort in kind, or clever enough to make up for his lack of size by getting a strategic hold on the attacker's scalplock, another howl rises as Number Two vents his anger in primitive fashion. At this unhappy juncture — happy though it may be for the children, who are enjoying the thrill of combat, it is probably the most distressing situation to be faced by the parent of small children —

enter the mother, perplexed but anxious to do something. What shall she do? Punish the aggressor and console the aggrieved? Punish both, if both have been fighting? Ignore the whole affair for the time being, but take steps to prevent its recurrence?

If she follows the first course, will she not be encouraging the child who played the passive part to continue looking to older and stronger people to fight his battles for him when he should be looking out for himself? And what effect will punishment have on the angry child? Will it teach him to control his explosive feelings in future, or will it not rather tend to make him sullen since he fears to show his emotion openly but knows not how to prevent its springing up within him?

If both children came to blows, but only the aggressor is blamed, the children will learn to make a false distinction between the naughtiness of fistcuffs, that called down a reprimand from the powers that be, and the unnoticed naughtiness of preëmpting a playfellow's belongings, so that he must use his fists and feet to defend his property. Biologically, the individual who can protect himself from exploitation is to be preferred to the one who suffers more or less silently without having vitality enough to stand up for himself.

Not the curbing of anger *per se* need be our aim, but the tying up of a strong sense of justice with the child's reactions, so that his explosions of anger do not inflict injustice on others. This can be accomplished by treating the child with utmost fairness ourselves, and helping him to build up the habit of being fair to others and of appreciating their expression of satisfaction. Only the child whose imaginative powers are well developed can put himself in the other fellow's place quickly enough to estimate in advance whether the action he has in mind will be fair or unfair to the youngster who is going to be most affected by it.

MEANING AND PURPOSE OF THE TANTRUM

Any parent whose child is given to working himself into a rage, screaming and stamping when things go wrong, will do well to retreat to his inner sanctum and consider the whys and wherefores of this phenomenon. If he goes dispassionately into the sequence of events that led up to and followed previous tantrums, he is almost sure to discover a clear case of cause and effect. Either the parent has been so concerned over the child's least expression of displeasure that he has taught the little one to make the most of his discontents, in order to enjoy the

thrill of being the center of the stage, or the child is merely imitating the exhibitions of some one else in the household — servant, older brother or sister, or one of the parents — or it may be that the child is just plain tired and not equal to the task of controlling himself.

To 'give in' to a child because he makes a scene is a sure way of getting him to put on a repeat performance, and another, and another, until he is enmeshed in a firm-woven habit. Paying no attention to his most elaborate contortions will quickly diminish the youngster's pride in the lengths to which he feels driven to let himself go. If his temper tantrums are copies of those put on by an older child or adult, that is the person who needs a dose of indifference, plus an explanation given at some other time concerning the impression made on the little child by witnessing such a display of fireworks. The child who loses his temper because of overfatigue wants a simplified régime. Given more quiet hours in bed, plainer food, fewer pleasures save of the most elementary kind, and no teasing within the home, this child may store up a reserve of energy on which he can call in time of stress, so that he will not be unduly upset by mild annoyances.

The underweight child and others who are

badly nourished, as well as those suffering from undetected chronic or acute bodily disorders, often reveal their poor physical condition first in the touchiness that marks them as out of sorts. If this is explained away by a subjective comment, 'This is what comes of your playing with that naughty Smith boy down the street; you never were like this until you began going to his house,' its value as a symptom of maladjustment is lost, and in time the fussiness develops into recurrent outbreaks of temper as the fatigue of the child grows more oppressive.

If girl-children are to grow up with the same chance as their brothers to develop a real sense of fair play and fundamental honesty, they must not in their early years be debarred from fighting on the ground that, 'You are little ladies. Ladies don't fight. Only boys do that.' The girl that has beaten or been beaten in a free fight appreciates the difference between fact and fancy. If she then seeks protection it is because she knows she needs it, not from a hypocritical desire to be 'good.' Combat against natural forces — hills to climb, trees and rocks to surmount, weather to be faced — should take the place of personal fighting, for both boys and girls. Especially should competition in games of skill and strength crowd out the child's craving

for a fight. If fight they must, let it be under the acknowledged rules of fencing, wrestling or boxing, that they may enjoy combat free from anger.

Whatever may be the cause of anger in a child, it should not be met with anger, but treated with calm firmness. Later, when the child is himself again and the episode has had time to be forgotten, he can be given insight into the phenomenon of anger, its value in adding to one's available strength, and the ease with which it degenerates into a dangerous master.

REFERENCES

D. A. Thom's discussion of anger in his *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*, chapter X, is clear and practical. *Personality and Social Adjustment*, by E. R. Groves, chapter VII, treats the social significance of anger. B. C. Gruenberg, in his *Guidance of Childhood and Youth* has valuable advice regarding the problem of children's fighting, chapter X. J. B. Watson's treatment of anger in his *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, chapter IV, is as valuable as it is concrete. For advanced study see G. M. Stratton, *Anger, its Religious and Moral Significance*, and R. F. Richardson, *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger*.

CHAPTER VII

SEX

Of all the problems that beset parents in dealing with their children, none is so troublesome to the majority as the task of giving them sex information. Because parents have difficulty, the children have even greater trouble. For most children nothing leads to such tragic feelings of shame and needless moral struggle as sex. The root of the parents' trouble lies in the fact that, because of embarrassment imbued by their own faulty childhood experiences, they cannot answer the child's natural questions regarding the origin of life as they answer his other questions.

It is unnecessary to tell any thoughtful parent who forces himself back into the memories of his own childhood struggles that sex is important. Any one who is frank with himself and who has a vivid recollection knows that sex is of all problems the most disturbing to the child, and also that the reactions of children along lines of sex curiosity during the first few years of life greatly influence character and help or hinder later happiness.

Sex appears early in the life of the child, much sooner than most parents suppose. Little chil-

dren are quick to see differences of body structure and soon detect that some parts of the body are more hidden, and treated unlike others. It is in this early sense of peculiarity, this atmosphere of *unlike-anything-else-and-not-to-be-talked-about* that parents permit the first stumbling-block to be placed before the feet of the little child. If no sense of strangeness gets tied up with sex curiosity the parent creates the most favorable conditions for the child's wholesome start of his inevitable sex experience and, as the development of his sex interests goes on, the adult need only continue the same normal unshamed attitude and frank rapport.

The failure of parents to meet adequately the sex needs of their growing children is usually the result of either an emotional attitude toward sex or lack of sufficient knowledge. Those who have morbid feelings connected with anything related to sex are victims of their own childhood. Few of us who went through childhood a generation ago are unmarked by the scar of the sex taboo of that period. The parent must first correct his own attitude before he can help the child. When we bring back our own childhood conflicts we develop the motive necessary to tackle our emotional house-cleaning, for we determine to save the child from our ordeal.

Perhaps it is easy for the parent to exaggerate his lack of preparation for sex instruction. At first the child wishes and needs only simple, direct and honest answers to his own questions. Yet even in the early stages of a child's interest, parents at times find themselves wishing more information themselves, and it is unfortunately true that we have fewer useful books treating sex than many parental problems. Even in medical schools there is a surprising lack of attention given to sex, and in other institutions there has been until of late practically nothing at all. The psychiatrists have been the first of the scientists to give serious concern to sex problems, and from them we get our greatest scientific knowledge. Necessarily, however, they largely deal with problem cases, what we are wont to call the abnormal, and this somewhat lessens the value of their writings for ordinary parents.

The parent needs to keep in mind that the first great problem his child has is to develop a normal and understanding interest in the opposite sex. This is called 'heterosexuality.' Young men and women who as adults always shun all members of the other sex are, so far as their sex development is concerned, spoiled by their unnatural attitude. Usually their parents are

responsible. The faint beginnings of heterosexual feelings have been nipped in the bud, and the flowering of the appropriate interests cannot come about. It is seldom that parents consciously desire this, but by their opposition to comradeship between boys and girls they fix the children upon themselves emotionally, so that proper heterosexuality becomes impossible. At other times they cover sex with a morbid coloring that makes the child in his adult period self-conscious and suspicious, even perhaps fearful.

The second need of the child is to develop so as later to deal honestly and objectively with sex, free from any morbid curiosity or timidity or from an exaggerated passion caused by lack of self-constructed inhibitions and standards. It is not safe to attempt to protect a child from sex risks by building up fears or antagonisms that destroy hope of happy marriage. The child must be made both safe and wholesome in his sex attitudes.

WHAT SHALL I TELL MY CHILD — AND WHEN?

Must one begin to 'talk frankly' to the unthinking twelve-year-old, getting involved in emotionally charged explanations that might possibly be put off for another year or two? No, this is at least six years too late for the first giv-

ing of necessary information. The six-year-old's eager curiosity must be satisfied at this as at any other point. And yet, the six-year-old child must already have asked for knowledge that has been withheld, if he is only then to be introduced to the grown-up world of facts in regard to life. The three-year-old, just becoming conscious of himself as a being largely under his own control and sharply marked off from the feelings and wishes of others, naturally carries his wonderings about his early history back to the period before he was born.

'When did we live in a little house by the woods?'

'Oh, that was before you were born.'

'What is being born?'

'It means beginning to live in the world, when you're a tiny baby.'

'Where was I before I was born?'

For these questions every parent must be prepared, for they may be asked at any time after the child has learned to think in terms of the past and unseen as well as the present and immediately visible. Taken unawares, mother or father may stumble, evade or launch into an unnecessarily technical answer, so that the child's legitimate curiosity is not satisfied but unduly aroused. No cut-and-dried formula need

be stored away by the adult against this day of need, but he must plan his campaign before he finds himself in the thick of it.

The child asks for very little knowledge, and is satisfied with the bare information clearing up his immediate puzzlement. Then, he is originally so far removed from shame in connection with bodily organs and functions that the parent could wish for no more neutral audience; so natural is the child in his interest and appreciation that the parent may find one or two conferences enough to uproot his own adolescent hangover of morbid self-consciousness in speaking of vital facts. To preserve these two advantages of the child — his normal, unexaggerated curiosity, and his freedom from shameful self-consciousness — the parent has but to follow these rules.

1. *Be prompt.* Answer any question of the child's at once, unless one must wait to get information. Rarely is this the case, for any parent knows more than his child on almost every question that may occur to the child on this subject. So much has been said of the parent's responsibility in giving the child accurate and wholesomely toned information, that many parents mistrust their ability and side-step their first encounter with the child so as to get advice before going ahead. No parent who sticks close

to the facts as he understands them, without putting in much interpretation or allowing his own shyness to be evident, need worry lest he hurt the child by awkwardness.

Postponing one's answer means risk of damming up the child's interest so that it will become over-intense. Immediate satisfaction of the child's curiosity is the safest program, as this allows the child to move on in his thinking so that sex knowledge becomes an incident among other important events of the day, not a strange and separate matter, to be asked about to-day and learned about at some more or less distant date. Casualness is the earmark of unemotional attention, and this attitude is only preserved in the child by the unhesitating response of the parent to his requests for information. Of course, there are times when a parent is too busy or too concerned with social responsibilities to answer any questions a child may ask, so that he must put them off until he is less occupied, but these times should be rare, and the postponed answer should be given as soon as feasible, never neglected because the child seems to have forgotten it.

2. *Be brief.* Fortunately the parent does not have to go into great detail in giving the small child an understanding of the ways of life. In

this as in other subjects, the little child wants just a general idea of the *how* of phenomena that puzzle him. By making his explanation as concise as possible, the parent prunes it of the extra touches his own emotional bias might be tempted to add to it. A parent who is especially timid about speaking of sex may have to exert so much will power in bringing himself to speak at all that he overdoes it, once he gets started, allowing his hard-won momentum to carry him away so that he goes into his subject far more exhaustively than there is any need of doing. It is this over-detailed, unwanted exposition that frightens the child, especially if it is delivered in the tense voice and with the set expression of self-consciousness. Such an overdoing of the task of explanation may turn the child in upon himself, stirred up by the multiplicity of undreamed-of facts poured upon him, but unwilling to ease his worriment in further attempts at discussion with the parent, since he is himself so uncomfortable in the presence of the parent's embarrassment.

For a sentence or two, even an upset adult can usually control his voice and face so that his predicament will not force itself on the attention of the child. In brevity lies safety. And in brevity lies also practicality, for the child's most

penetrating questions are likely to come in times of hurry or group sociability, when a long talk would be out of the question, and a prompt answer can only be made by cutting it down to its essentials.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES

Perhaps the chief obstacle that stands in the way of most parents when they try to talk frankly with their children is their own lack of objectiveness in viewing sex matters. To call a spade a spade, when one has been chastised or reprimanded in the impressionable days of one's early childhood for doing this very thing, is in itself difficult; to speak with an open countenance of matters one has been taught to consider unmentionable save in the whispers of adults is still harder. Yet this is the necessity facing those parents who have never been happily oriented in their own grapplings with the mysteries of sex.

A clear talking over of their own needless embarrassments and confusion would do much to straighten out adults who consider sex an appalling tangle of 'Thou shalt' and 'Thou shalt not.' If they are honest in their thinking husbands and wives will benefit by a free discussion between themselves of whatever bothers either one.

When this is not practicable, a good doctor can be drawn upon for advice and criticism.

CHILDISH ATTITUDES

In the first three years the child's attitude is influenced by the parent and other members of the household, so that it constantly becomes either more intelligent or increasingly emotional. Before he can talk, even before he can walk, the child is being permitted to keep his attitude of unbiased interest and to develop it in the direction of adult understanding, or he is being forced to assume an unreal protective shell of indifference coupled with an emotionally heightened attention.

Prolonged and over-intense caresses by the adult who handles the infant in the course of giving it the necessary regular care unduly stimulate infantile love-centers that are active enough without especial encouragement. The baby needs love and caresses, but should not be excited by the uncontrolled expression of affection of a love-starved person. The mother who cannot pour out her love freely toward her mate, whether because of physical or emotional separation, should think of her child's rights as well as her own satisfaction, and curb any tendency she finds herself showing to fondle the baby at

the expense of his emotional freedom. A limited amount of demonstrative affection is good for him, but he must outgrow speedily his dependence on the hugs and croonings of the mother, if he is to be unencumbered in his love life.

Loving the baby, but with enough self-restraint to prevent his getting a disproportionate joy from the rewards of being a baby so that he would never want to leave babyhood, the parents will be jolly, or at least cheerful, and tolerant in the spirit of open-minded fairness, in their dealings with the little child, so that he may look to them for encouragement and help, but beyond them for the rewards that come from his own efforts and adventures. An easy-going attitude, free from the tenseness resulting from too close relations between parent and child, is the right of every child.

MASTURBATION

From about the child's sixth month to his third year the parent is constantly running into situations that perplex him, but are easily met if he is ready for them or dares trust his own convictions. It is the parent who tries to act in an emergency as he supposes the mass of people would think proper, rather than according to his own free judgment, who turns natural occurrences into trouble-provoking events.

The parent may be troubled by the little baby's interest in his own body, and react against this as if it were an adult offense against propriety, forgetting that this interest is in itself quite proper, needing only to be supplanted in turn by other interests, to ward off the formation of a habit that would prevent the ongoing of attention to an ever-widening field of objects. If the infant does handle any portion of his body to the exclusion of other things, or is particularly soothed by his manipulation of himself, or seems to be forming a definite habit of masturbation whether by touching his external genitalia or by rubbing his thighs together, the parent will need to take prompt steps to stop it, but without getting excited over this more than any other undesirable act that threatens to become habitual. Neither ignoring the situation nor getting panicky over it, the parent will follow such a procedure as this.

1. Say 'No,' in a matter-of-fact voice whenever the infant engages in the forbidden act.

2. Change the position of the infant, as by raising him to a sitting posture or putting him on his stomach.

3. Put within his reach an attractive, though simple, object.

4. Consult a doctor, if the habit is persistent,

to discover if there be adhesions of the clitoris, if the child is a girl, or of the foreskin, if a boy, and if such a condition is found have this remedied by the very simple operation indicated.

5. Find some mechanical means of preventing masturbatory acts when the child is falling asleep, as the wearing of thigh spreaders or aluminum mittens.

6. Unobtrusively watch the infant to prevent any recurrence of the unwanted act.

If success does not follow the faithful observance of these measures, consult a child guidance expert, or, if this is not possible, have the child examined to find out whether he may be feeble-minded. If the result of this examination is negative, one may continue the program of uprooting masturbatory tendencies outlined above, untroubled by the bogies of yesterday, for masturbation is not *per se* harmful, but can injure a child only by shutting him off from contact with his environment, since it discourages his seeking stimulation outside himself and lessens his reaction to those stimuli that do penetrate his consciousness.

The cases in which masturbation is pronounced enough to constitute a grave menace to mental development are very rare. The common risk connected with this habit is a result of

the anxiety of parents misinformed as to the gravity of a passing phase in the child's career. Only when parents or other persons frighten and shame a child because of his temporary inability to control himself is he precipitated into strongly difficult situations on account of his masturbation. Now that it is becoming common knowledge that masturbation does not lead to insanity or lack of virility, it is growing easier for parents to deal with this, as with other problems of child training, in the objective way that brings quick success without a heavy cost to the child in terms of emotional stress.

When it occurs in older children, as it more commonly does, masturbation is more pronounced than in the case of babies, and generally lasts longer, but it need be no more productive of worry. The parent may look for it when the child begins to play much with other children, and whenever a new playmate appears, as well as when the child starts going to school, and especially at the approach of adolescence, at the age of ten to fourteen years. Unobtrusive supervision of the children's group play is perhaps the best preventive in the first five years; then, as this becomes impracticable on account of the child's wider range, one may content one's self with a word of counsel, should the tabooed ac-

tions occur. It is better not to be always on the watch, since this vigilance is noticed by the child and may be a source of hidden worry or alarm; he sees that his parent is fearful and anxious about him and naturally supposes that possibilities of great danger lie ready to his hand, a notion that may depress and trouble him or may excite him to the point of seeking out the unknown danger by diligently exploring his unknown potentialities.

The parent may content himself with the knowledge that fleeting habits of masturbation are so nearly universal in the young as to require no attention, while any habits that assume larger proportions are almost sure to force themselves on the attention of the thoughtful observer by the creation of baffling anti-social conduct. In either case, the parent's part is to relieve the child of any feeling of shame or fear he may have got from other people, so that he will not suffer heavy consequences in emotional conflict, but can confidently outgrow the experience.

THE BASE OF KNOWLEDGE

By investigating his own external anatomy and observing the physical configuration of others does the child form the basis of definite sex knowledge. Every child loves to run bare

in sun and wind, delights in freedom from hampering clothes, and enjoys the sight and exhibition of his body, the most beautiful and wonderful material possession he can ever hope to have. Only when told that it is 'Not nice' to run about naked, 'Naughty' to appear before other people unclothed, or otherwise interfered with by mistaken prudery, does the experience of nudity gain possibilities of morbid influence for the child. When necessary, he can be told that it is the custom for big people to wear clothing, and, as he is getting quite big, he will put on his clothes before going among people outside the immediate household.

Fortunate is that child who has a brother or sister near his own age, that he may learn incidentally, in the process of bathing and dressing, the likenesses and dissimilarities observable in early childhood. If little brothers and sisters have always seen each other naked, without any raising of parental eyebrows or other remonstrance, they are as little affected by this association as by any other pleasant frolic or decorous duty. Those children in families where there are only girls, or only boys, cannot gain their first impressions of the opposite sex in this natural way, but must depend on their parents for that wholesome introduction to external sex

differences, which is in itself so trivial, but, if negligently omitted or timidly debarred, lays the cornerstone of later diffidence and excessive curiosity in regard to sex.

Parents whose self-consciousness prevents their appearing unclothed before their children, in morning gymnastics, bath, or dressing period, must take thought to supply their deficiency. This can be done by having cousins or other small friends visit in the home for several days at a time, once or twice a year if possible, beginning when the children are nine months or a year old, and keeping on at least through the fourth year. Since this is necessarily so much less taken for granted than the observance of members of the family circle, it will be discontinued earlier — surely by the eighth year. Those families that cannot arrange even for this spasmodic mingling of boys and girls have to depend on art to make good their lack. Pictures and statues of young boys and girls, if of high artistic worth, are almost as natural and unembarrassing as glimpses of the boys and girls themselves, though this again is but a poor substitute for the casualness of real life.

MODESTY

Strangely enough, it is not the child who has had freedom in enjoying the delights of scampering about 'bare-naked' who gets into serious trouble through immodesty. The brazenly immodest child is the one who has been denied normal satisfaction for his desire to show himself in legitimate ways. Here again the parent must quell the rising panic that invades him and makes him want to shame the immodest child into conformity with adult standards. Not the child, but the parent, needs to undergo a rehabilitating process, learning to accept the fact that the so-called immodesty of the child is but an announcement of his need of more knowledge. The eight-year-old boy who gets a neighbor girl to undress, that he may see what she looks like, while he, on his part, does as much for her, is bearing witness to the fact that at this point his education has been sadly neglected. Long ago he should have seen his younger sister having sun and water baths, so that he would not be troubled by his woeful ignorance in vital matters. The adult who stumbles upon this little tableau must have the wit to accept it at its face value, and not heap upon this simple attempt to gain important knowledge the supposition of shameful purposes entirely outside

the boy's understanding, but whose tone would attach itself to his normal interest in sex, so that he would associate femininity with shamefulness and be unable to see in sex its just dignity and beauty.

PRIVACY

A wholesome attitude toward sex cannot be attained unless the functions of the toilet are allowed to drop into their rightful unobtrusive place, because anatomically the external genital organs are so closely associated with the eliminative organs. The child's first attitude toward his eliminative functions is one of unshamed interest. But mothers find so large a part of their responsibility in keeping the child clean and well tied up with his proper performance of urination and defecation, that they quickly become emotional in their reactions to the child's acts. If he wets out of time and place, he is 'naughty,' and perhaps receives a spanking on his wet and tender buttocks; when he achieves the eliminative act to which the mother has been urging him, he is 'good,' and basks in the smiles and happy voice of the relieved mother. So much attention is paid to what he does and does not do, and so much emotion attached to his releasings and withhold-

ings, that he gets a distorted idea of the importance of his bodily behavior and an exaggerated emotional tone in regard to it.

By the end of the second year, when this strong affective concern is tied up with simple physical acts that are in themselves neither good nor bad, but the result of well- or ill-planned training, the child is again placed in a false position in regard to processes that should be of no concern to anybody but himself, and should soon be taken in a matter-of-fact way by him. Perturbed lest the child overstep the bounds of privacy, the parent overdoes the business of teaching the child the proprieties of the toilet, voicing 'Not nice' and 'Horrid' and numbers of similar epithets in tones of emotional upset whenever the child unwittingly transgresses the adult code of personal manners, until the child has a double set of contradictory feelings bound up with his eliminative system. If he behaves according to schedule, he is warmly praised for having done a fine thing. Every act of his receives keen attention, whether adverse or pleasant. Then comes the surprising teaching that this portion of his daily routine is something people pretend they know nothing about. He is guilty of misbehavior if he tells the storekeeper, as he buys a package of gum, that he is allowed

to have it because he kept the bed dry last night. Mother said he was good to stay dry, and yet he is bad if he tells any one about it. That anything can be good in the doing, but bad in the telling, this is strange doctrine.

The wiser parent refrains from labeling a child 'good' or 'bad' in connection with indifferent physical acts. Not, 'You naughty boy! Don't you know better than that?' but, 'Big people don't talk about such things. They would rather not be bothered, because there are so many other things they have to see to. It is all right to speak of it at home, but it is not *proper* to say anything about it to other people. And even at home it is better to outgrow the time when this is news, so we will have time to think about the many other things we are getting big enough to do.' Keeping shame and guilt out of any forbidding one has to do in leading a child into the lines of adult manners does not slow up the process of learning mature ways, but rather hastens it.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Given, then, a child unspoiled by misdirected parental zeal in trying to corral him all too suddenly within the palings of respectability, one may expect little unsurmountable difficulty in

frank verbal dealings with the child. What trouble does arise will be on the parent's side of the ledger, rather than on the child's. The adult may be shocked by the child's blunt questions and worried by his own prosaic answers, but so long as he faithfully gives the child the information asked for, in so far as he is himself familiar with biological facts, he may be sure he is doing well.

The child that does not ask questions by the time he is five needs to have the subject of reproduction brought to his attention, as he may have been given a perverted story by some playmate, or servant, or chance passer-by. No child is so isolated as to live beyond the possibility of this unwanted introduction, which would be liable to prevent the child's freely discussing his wonderings with his parents.

An illustrative outline of possible questions and answers will prepare the mother and father for some of the queries likely to be put to them by their children, and suggest a practical line of response. These questions are asked by the child at odd times from his third to his thirteenth year — and beyond. Often they are repeated, as the child forgets what he has been told, or mixes it up with ideas he has got from conversation and reading. Any group of questions

that is long omitted by the child can well be anticipated by the parent, to forestall the embarrassment attendant on ignorance, when naïve remarks lay the young person open to the ridicule of his friends.

THREE TO SIX YEARS

Q. 'Where do babies come from?'

A. 'They grow inside the mother.'

Q. 'How do they get out?'

A. 'The baby's head is very little, about as big as your middle-sized doll, and it is not very hard, so it can squeeze through a small hole. This is where it comes out.' (Show girl-child the vaginal opening in her own body; show boy-child on his own body about where it would be, and describe the orifice briefly.) 'This opening gets bigger when the baby is ready to come out. The baby pushes and the mother pushes, and out comes the baby.'

Q. 'How does the baby know when to come out?'

A. 'It grows inside the mother for almost a year — nine months, or three quarters of a year. That might be all spring, all summer and fall, and then at the beginning of the winter it would have grown all it could inside the mother and the only thing it could do would be to come

out, just as you wake up when you have slept all you can. You don't have to think about it and say, "Now I will wake up because I have slept enough." You just wake up when you cannot sleep any more.'

Q. 'The mother must be surprised to have a baby come out of her! She wouldn't have any crib for it to sleep in, or anything, would she?'

A. 'The mother knows there is a baby inside her, because she can feel the baby moving his arms and legs, once in a while, after he is about half-grown. Then, the part of the mother where the baby lives keeps getting bigger, as the baby grows, so there will be plenty of room for him.'

Q. 'Do the mothers have the girl-babies, and the daddies have the boy-babies? Is that the way it is?'

A. 'No. The mothers have all the babies. The daddies don't have any place for the babies to grow.'

Q. 'Huh! I should think the daddies would have some of the babies. What are daddies for, anyway?'

A. 'Daddies help take care of the babies, and earn the money to buy clothes and food and a house and coal for the furnace, to keep the mother and the babies warm and comfortable.

But the daddies do more than that. They help to make the babies start growing.'

Q. 'How do they do that?'

A. 'The daddy puts a little seed, that grows inside him, right inside the mother so it can find a tiny egg that grows inside the mother, and when the daddy's seed and the mother's egg get together the baby begins to grow.'

Q. 'I'd like to see the seed and the egg. Are they like the eggs I have for breakfast and the seeds I plant in my garden?'

A. 'Yes, but much smaller. The egg is as small as the eye of the littlest needle I use for sewing, and the seed is so tiny you couldn't see it. They are not just the same as the eggs we eat and the seeds we plant, but enough like them so that we call them by the same names. The egg does not have a hard shell, and the seed is shaped like a tiny seed or a tiny hair, only it is big at one end, and it moves back and forth, like the grass in the brook and in the ocean, except that the daddy's seed — which we call by its Latin name, sperm, so we can tell which kind of seed any one means — moves itself, while the marsh grass is only moved by the moving water.'

Q. 'How does the daddy-egg — I mean the sperm — get into the mother to find the mother-egg?'

A. 'The mother-egg we call by its Latin name, too, ovum, which means egg. The sperm is made in either one of the testicles of the father' (showing the boy the position of his own testicles, within the scrotum, or bag, and showing the girl a diagram or picture); 'and goes from there to the penis' (both children should already be familiar with this organ, though the Latin name may be new to them); 'then the father places the penis within the vagina of the mother (the vagina is the place where the baby comes out), and pushes out the sperm. The sperm swims along until it finds the ovum.'

(The child's response may be in the nature of (1) or (2).)

(1) Q. 'Ugh! I wouldn't like that!'

A. 'When people are old enough, and like each other well enough to marry and live together the rest of their lives, this is the natural thing to do, and so it is as comfortable and pleasant as falling asleep when you are tired, or eating when you are hungry.'

(2) Q. 'I'd like to do that. Wouldn't it be funny?'

A. 'Children are not made so they can do it. Only big people can, and they wait until they are old enough to earn money to buy things for their children.'

Q. 'How does the baby grow inside the mother? He can't eat. What makes him grow?'

A. 'The mother eats for the baby as well as for herself. She digests the food, too, and then the good of it soaks through a sort of little screen into the baby's body and makes him get fat and healthy. The mother is careful to eat the right kinds of food — plenty of milk and cereal, dark breads, fruit and vegetables, especially spinach and carrots and whatever is particularly good for the baby. The baby needs some meat, but not much, and plenty of fish.'

Q. 'How does the baby breathe? I should think he would not get any air.'

A. 'The mother breathes for him, and the good things she gets out of the air makes her healthy, and that makes the baby well and strong. He does not need air, but he needs to have his mother get plenty of fresh air and sunshine. Unless she gets out in the sunlight for exercise every day the sun shines, he will not have good teeth and well shaped bones. If there is not much sunshine, or the mother cannot get out in it, she must take cod liver oil every day and eat liver once a week.'

SIX TO TEN

Q. 'Is it hard work to have a baby? I should not want to be so careful what I ate.'

A. 'It is hard, just as it is hard to train to be a football player or a musician, but any one who very much wants a certain thing does not mind the hard part. It is even hard work to be a little child and learn to do all the things you have to be able to do when you are six years old. But it is fun, too, and you forget the hard part very quickly. That is the way it is with having a baby. The hard part is so much worth while, that one does not mind it, and when the baby comes, one soon forgets all about it. But if one is healthy and learns how to take care of oneself, it is not so hard. Nobody should have a baby without asking a doctor if they are well enough to do it easily.'

Q. 'Does it hurt to have the baby come out? I should think it would. How can the baby's head go through so small a place without hurting?'

A. 'Usually it hurts to stretch enough to let the first baby out, but it is easier with the others, because the muscles are able to do it better the second time. You know how lame you get the first time you go skating, because your muscles are not used to doing that kind of work, but the next time you do not think of it.'

TEN TO FOURTEEN

Q. 'When I grow up I'm going to have fifteen children, but I shan't ever marry.'

A. 'It is not the custom to have children without being married. Children need to be taken care of and loved by their father as well as their mother. It is very hard to earn money enough to support a family, and take good care of it at the same time.'

(Either reaction (1) or (2) may appear now, perhaps to be followed later by the other.)

(1) Q. 'I never want to have any children. They are too much trouble.'

A. 'That is for you to decide. You may change your mind when you are older.'

(2) Q. 'I shall marry when I'm twenty, but I'm not going to have any children.'

A. 'You must talk that over with the person you are going to marry, because he, or she, might want children, and would rather not marry you, but marry some one else that would have children.'

Q. 'They say Jane Smith, in my class at high school, is going to have a baby, and she's not married. Every one thinks she's terrible. Why did she do it?'

A. 'Perhaps she is very thoughtless and did not stop to think how hard it would be to bring up a baby without any father.'

Q. 'Why did she want a baby? She used to take care of the Browns' baby, and she certainly never seemed to like babies.'

A. 'Maybe she didn't know that what she was doing would make a baby come.'

Q. 'Then why did she do it?'

A. 'It is so important for people to have babies, that everything connected with the beginning of the new life is exceedingly pleasant. Otherwise, many people would never have any children, because they would be so busy working or having good times that they would not give a thought to the matter of having children. This is true of animals, only they are seasonal in their enjoyment of sex. At certain times of the year — usually in the spring, but sometimes again in the fall, or several times a year, depending on the species — they want to mate. They are not thinking of children; they just crave sexual satisfaction when they are physically ready to have offspring. Some savage peoples also do not know why children come, but they have plenty, just the same, because the men and women enjoy sex intercourse, and then when children are born they are surprised, and the father sometimes goes to bed just as the mother does, trying in that way to prove that the child is his as well as hers.

'Jane may have known no more than the savages how babies come, and may be as surprised as they to find that children arrive so unexpectedly. But she probably knows better by now, and won't have any more children until she is married.'

Q. 'Why does everybody speak of Jane only in whispers, and talk about her as if she was very wicked?'

A. 'Society — that is, all people everywhere — tries to make people do what seems to be best for the sake of the largest number of people. It is so hard on the children to be brought up by mothers without any father, that society is very strict about this, and tries to prevent its happening, by being harsh with the girl who is an unmarried mother. In this way society hopes to prevent other girls from doing as Jane did.'

Q. 'Why don't they get after the father of the baby, too?'

A. 'When they know who he is, they generally do, but it is hard to be sure they have the right man. Also, it has long been the custom to put the responsibility only on the girl, and customs are hard to change.'

Q. 'Some of the girls at school say they could do what Jane did and get away with it. They think she is stupid. What do they mean?'

A. 'They think they can enjoy sex relations without becoming pregnant. Some of them may have done so, or may know other girls who do, but what they do not understand is that they are only saying what Jane might have said a few months ago. There is no hundred per cent reliable means of preventing conception when sex relations are experienced. Numbers of ways have been tried, and several are partially successful, but that is just where the risk comes in, for girls who depend on them are almost sure, soon or late, to come to grief.'

Q. 'I can't imagine how people would like to do anything like that for pleasure. I should hate it.'

A. 'It's human nature, that's all. You don't need to worry about it. When you are older, you will probably feel differently, and if you don't, you need never do it. It's up to you.'

THE LIFE STORY

Any of the above questions may come out of place, being asked earlier or later than indicated in this tentative schedule. If not asked by the end of the indicated age-period they should be answered just the same, by the parent bringing up the subject, *à propos* of incidents in the daily household or community routine. It is, of

course, better for the child to do the asking, if he will, since that insures his getting knowledge when he needs it, not sooner than he is ready for it. If the parent has always been able to talk without himself being embarrassed when discussing sex matters with his child, the probability is that the child will freely ask whatever questions are bothering him; but this may not follow, since the child may hear distorted tales from his schoolmates that trouble him so much as to prevent his talking freely on the subject any more with his parent. In this case, the parent's bringing up topics of needed sex information may restore to the child his untroubled attitude toward sex, and surely will set him straight on matters in regard to which he has been given misinformation.

In the early years, when the child first learns about the life and growth of the baby before birth, he can be told in as great detail as interests him the history of the development of the embryo, from conception to the end of the nine-months period of uterine life. Many books give this information in clear and concise fashion, so that any parent can easily read and re-tell it to his child, at the same time showing him the fascinating illustrations that accompany the text.

At any time when further postponement

would necessitate evasion or downright deceit, or by the end of the eleventh year if no questions have been asked, it is advisable to tell the child, girl or boy, the simple facts of menstruation. It is important, before this is done, that the parent giving this information rid himself or herself of any misconceptions and morbid attitudes that may have gathered about this simple yet baffling phenomenon. This may best be done by consultation with a good doctor, or reference to a reputable medical book. If these methods of approach are out of the question, the parent may consult with himself, in this fashion.

'Menstruation is a normal occurrence, and my reaction against it is as illogical as that of the savage who fears to touch anything the hand of a menstruating woman has rested upon. In healthy women, it is not accompanied by especial fatigue or discomfort, unless they are receiving excessive sexual stimulation, without relief, or unless they drive themselves too hard in work or play. I shall therefore try to give my child a purely objective attitude toward this occurrence, simply stating to him or her the normal facts, without any coloring of emotion.'

Seminal emission should also be frankly explained as the normal function of maturing sex organs.

WHICH PARENT?

The giving of sex information to children is not the task of mothers alone. To get a sound point of view the child should draw upon the knowledge and attitudes of both parents. After the sixth year, the mother may find it easier to talk with the girls, and the father with the boys. Or it may be that the father is the one to whom daughters as well as sons turn for information and advice, because he is unembarrassed, while the mother is so bound by the taboos of her girlhood that she either cannot speak freely or overdoes her effort to untie her self-conscious tongue, and goes too fully into the details that interest her.

WHEN CEASE?

The time to stop interpreting sex to children comes only when they are full grown and either happily married or satisfied with their life-work. This presupposes that the parent is well adjusted in his own sex life, and therefore able to help the child. If all efforts meet only with rebuffs by the adolescent, it may be the better part of valor to give up trying to offer verbal aid, since the child may only be irritated by counsel that antagonizes him, so that he acts in direct opposition to it, when, left to himself, he

would proceed in harmony with the main lines of parental guidance already received. In this case it would be well to turn the child over to an understanding physician for further advice. Information in regard to venereal disease can best be given every adolescent by the family physician, since his knowledge is more accurate than the parent's and his attitude less likely to beget fear through exaggeration of risks.

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CHAPTER VIII

MONEY

No adult is well equipped for life who does not have good habits in his use of money. The development of such habits starts early and the parent finds that just as soon as the child begins to understand what money is he must be handled with some sort of policy. Nothing, perhaps, that happens in childhood has more definite influence over the career of the adult than the early experience of the child with reference to money. Certainly in matrimony there are striking illustrations familiar to all who are called upon to give practical counsel to persons having family difficulties, that reveal how significant are the child's early impressions and experiences in the getting and spending of money.

The miser, the spendthrift, and the individual of good money habits each started his characteristic behavior in the first years of childhood. Whatever policy, therefore, the parent adopts with reference to money, it is imperative to keep in mind that the big thing is the impression the child gets, the effect it has upon his later character. It is never merely a question of how the

child shall earn money, or wisely spend it. The parent's interest is in what effect the getting or spending will have upon the personality of the growing child.

With reference to later adult behavior nothing is more important than to build up a background as a means of influencing the child in regard to money. The parent by his stories and reading to the child and especially by his comments and explanations can gradually teach the child the importance of money. Nothing is more fascinating to the child after his sixth year than information concerning the economic aspects of modern life.

First of all the child needs to realize that money represents power, since with it goes the privilege of using the time, strength, and thought of other people. He who has it is enabled to satisfy his desires, because other people will serve him to satisfy their own desires. This fundamental meaning of money can be made thoroughly clear to the child and thus build the foundation for financial responsibility.

The child is quick to detect the difference between money that he deserves because he has earned it and money that is a gift. Although one brings him just as much in the way of toys as the other, he reveals a marked emotional dis-

tinction between that which comes to him from his own exertion and that which is merely the expression of another's good will. Out of his experience as an earner, the child constructs the idea of property. It is important as this develops that he comes to realize the responsibility as well as the rights of property.

The wise spending of money can only be learned by the child through experience. It is well for the parent, especially at the beginning, not to interfere in such a way as to prevent the child's normal growth in the use he makes of the money he spends. From his mistakes he frequently learns better judgment and eventually becomes prepared to assume, as an adult, economic responsibility. It is important that he learn to save and it is extremely desirable that this become not a conduct forced upon him by adult authority but his own choice. To make this possible his first savings should be for something that he himself wants to buy. Sometimes, to encourage this saving habit, the parent will wisely offer to add to his savings, provided he does not emphasize temporary pleasures, but accumulates a definite sum.

It is of the greatest importance, when the child comes to feel that his honor is strictly tested by his money dealing, that he enlarge the

meaning of honesty until it includes just dealings whenever he assumes the rôle of either buyer or seller. Unless the child eventually reaches this highest level of responsibility, his money experiences will not become a means of moral growth.

FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH MONEY

The child of two hears older children gloat over their pennies and dimes until he too shrieks 'Fi-cents' when he spies a penny, nabs it and hangs on to it with great glee, though he knows no other use for it than the clutching of untaught fingers. Within the next year he has learned either to run to the nearest candy store with every penny, or to stuff it into a jingling bank. Of these two procedures, adult-minded judgment might call the second more desirable, but child-viewed reasoning says that uncomprehending storing of coins in a dark hole is no more valuable than the pushing of buttons between cracks in the piazza floor. To be educated in regard to the meaning and worth of money, the child must experience the relation between its possession and the attainment of something that seems to him good.

For other reasons than that of training in the use of money, the parent may prefer that the

child shall not go too often to the corner store, but as far as his money-sense is concerned, this is just the way to awaken it. Money is power, to be used or stored for future use, not hoarded in purposeless satisfaction of an emotional craving for seeing the hoard increase. Asking a child to save money just for the sake of saving it is to pervert his appreciation of money so that it will be difficult for him ever to deal objectively with it. He will be inclined to go on hoarding without planning any use for his hoard, only to watch the bank account swell, or he will be driven to rebel against the very idea of saving, and pour out his spendthrift money, because this gesture is the opposite of the policy of endless saving enforced in his early years.

To be a good saver, one must first be a good spender. One must be able to buy this and forego that, content to wait weeks or months to amass capital enough to buy the more enduring pleasure. Always, money is to be thought of as a means to an end, the wherewithal for the purchase of the most desired good. At first, the limit of imagination in terms of patient waiting and saving for a higher purchasing power may be the aggregation, penny by penny, of finances sufficient to swing the purchase of a five-cent ice-cream cone. At last the circuit between the

accumulation of money and its disbursement stretches to the amassing of funds that will satisfy the desire for powerful action, prestige, or security, in terms of a factory built, an organization supported, or investments made.

PLEASURE IN SPENDING

The child's enjoyment of the spending of money is never limited to the buying of things for his own comfort and pleasure. Little or big, he likes to give his wealth to others, buying a string of bells to send Santa Claus for his reindeer, giving ten cents to Daddy to go toward buying a new automobile, treating his younger brother and playmate to candy and toys, or taking a penniless friend with him to the movies. This generosity is attractive to see, but it may be overdone if the child yields often to the impulse of the moment, unable to keep in due proportion his own larger aims that demand his hanging on to his money, beside the temptingly easy gratification of another's passing whim. The parent who refrains from overpraising the child's sharing of his money will be glad to know that he is not encouraging the development of a practice that might become only an ostentatious shadow of altruism.

In spending for self as well as for others, the

child's progress from satisfaction in the short-lived pleasure to insistence on a more lasting good depends on his correct interpretation of his experiences. If parental counsel intrudes to such an extent that the child observes no causal relationship between his desires and the permanency of his advantages, progress will be slow. When he is himself the one to decide, uncoerced, how and when he will spend his money, he is put face to face with the results of his money policy, so that, instead of grumbling against the powers that have urged him to follow an unwanted program, he is in a position to profit by his mistakes and undertake to repeat his successes.

AMOUNT OF MONEY

The amount of money a child has should depend on his ability to handle it. Some children enjoy buying their own clothes as soon as they can figure price totals, either saving money that might go for pleasure, to buy more or finer clothes, or cutting down their clothes budget, to put money in the bank ready for later ventures.

In any expenditure that represents so large a sum of money as to be impossible to replace, should the child's choice prove highly unsuitable, it is necessary for one of the parents to ex-

ercise a veto power, since the child is easily misled by some glory of color or splendor of style into overlooking the inappropriateness of a garment that catches his fancy. Many a grown person remembers keenly the suffering endured in adolescence while wearing out a coat or hat that should never have been bought, so mature was it in cut, or extravagant in design; at first its purchase raised the young buyer to the heights of self-aggrandizement, but when it was hooted at by contemporaries it quickly became more unpleasant to wear than a hair shirt, because it could not be hid, and yet to lay it aside and buy anew was out of the question.

KEEPING ACCOUNTS

However much or little money the child has, he can be taught a simple system of accounting for it, that will help him to visualize his total expenditures so that he can evaluate his use of money by seeing how much he has spent and how little is left to show for it. The three-year-old can stick at the top of a large chart a tiny red star for every penny given him, then mark off the lower part of the card into as many divisions as his wants make necessary, pasting at the top of each one a picture illustrating that type of disbursement, and put a blue star in the

proper column for every cent he spends. Different sizes of stars may represent nickels and dimes, to simplify the higher mathematics of bigger receipts and expenses. At the end of the week the coins that have been saved can be represented by drawing active little straight-line men with pin-dot heads, one, five, or ten inches high according to the value of the coin, to signify the power that lies in the little copper, nickel, and silver men of metal. The child of school age can keep a more ordinary account, but may also enjoy decorating it with pictures cut from advertisements to portray his major expenses and emphasize the objects for which he is saving.

SAVING AND EARNING

The A B C of saving money is the fixing of the attention on some desired object that is just outside the purchasing power of the child at the moment. The shorter the lapse of time between the conception of the desire and its attainment, the more surely will the child repeat the experience of working and waiting to gain his ends. Speedy satisfaction of a wish held in check brings more intense pleasure than the instantaneous gratification of every fleeting longing.

The child of three may not at first be able to wait over a day to accumulate money from his allowance for a special purchase, but he will readily wait two or three hours, punctiliously staying within sound of telephone and doorbell, to earn a penny an hour for answering calls, and hunting odd jobs about the house and yard at a penny apiece, such as scrubbing potatoes for dinner, cleaning an untidy corner, or washing a bit of the paint where finger marks are thickest. All of these jobs perhaps appeal to him in themselves, and have been gleefully done on other occasions, but that does not alter the fact that they constitute work of such value to the mother that they can well become a purchasable commodity. To suppose that a child should be paid for doing only what he dislikes doing is to label as worth-while work only that which is disagreeable and this in turn stamps work with the mark of unpleasantness.

The price paid for work in the adult world is set by the demand for it, in proportion to the number of workers available, and this, substituting for number of workers available the competition of other childish interests with the work required, should also be the standard of payment in the child's world. The child enjoys doing almost anything that involves activity; it is

the relinquishing of other interests to stick to the one assigned that is laborious. To insure the successful completion of a job undertaken, the child should be prevented from accepting assignments beyond his powers of endurance. To fall just short of finishing a piece of work will teach him to ask for less, next time, or try harder to get it done, by acquiring greater efficiency; to fall far short of finishing the work will discourage him from again attempting any but the easiest job.

No child should be paid for every little thing he does, but neither should any child grow up without tasting the joy of receiving payment for honest effort, that he may get first-hand knowledge of the exchange of services inherent in the living together of civilized people. No longer will he suppose that only because he is lucky enough to be able to wheedle money out of an indulgent parent, all things will come his way without his ever exerting himself. Value given for value received lays the foundation of justice in actual dealings as well as in abstract thinking, and this is a lesson that cannot be too soon begun.

WHEN TO PAY AND WHEN NOT TO PAY

No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down, as to

when a parent is justified in paying a child for services performed, and when he should not pay, lest payment degenerate into bribery. In general, one may pay for anything especially difficult and intrinsically uninteresting or void of tangible satisfaction to the child, yet which the parent considers necessary to the child's physical well-being, or helpful in the performance of his own schedule of daily tasks. This does not mean that the child should be paid for going through his regular routine of eating, sleeping, washing, and the like, but that he may be paid for expeditiously doing the new and irksome thing demanded of him, until it has become an established habit.

A penny a nap, to the over-active, undernourished child of six who has been ordered by the doctor to rest or sleep for an hour after dinner every day, though naps had been given up a year or two before, is a good investment for the parent and puts before the child a definite reason for wanting to sleep. To pay the three- or four-year-old for sleeping at naptime would be inadvisable, since the child of that age is not handicapped by having broken his habit of sleeping, and naturally finds it easier to settle down in bed than does the older, more nervous child. Likewise, a child should not be paid for

putting away his toys, since that should be his invariable practice before going on to some other occupation, but he may be paid for tidying up somebody else's clutter or going through all of his belongings and sorting out those he does not want, so as to eliminate confusion.

The moment one begins to pay a child for the discharge of such duties, one must expect him to beg off occasionally, proffering the market price — a penny for a nap or job — for the sake of being let off. If one pays a stated sum for naps, surely it is but fair that one should sell naps at the same price! This jars on parental nerves, and seems to reduce the whole business of payment to an absurdity, but it effectively introduces the child to the possibilities of power that are latent in the possession of money.

Equally troublesome to the parent is the disposition of the child to become indifferent to the earning of money, either because he earns it too easily or because of the pressure of competing interests. Both these quandaries can be got out of by putting payments on a weekly or monthly basis and making a contract for the exchange of services for that length of time. The child or the parent must then give a week's or a month's notice before throwing up the contract, or forfeit the amount of the wages for that period.

This presupposes that a definite group of tasks for which he is paid fall to the child's lot, in addition to those for which he does not receive payment. Having a regular time for the doing of work makes it easier for the child to meet his responsibilities. Irregular jobs, occurring at odd times, the child should be free to accept or reject as he likes, depending, probably, on the state of his purse and the strength of extra-monetary attractions at the moment.

Before entering upon the plan of paying a child for what he does, the parent should make sure that enough coöperation already exists, so that the child is not in danger of losing his willingness to give help only because it is needed, regardless of whether he gets any reward for his service. If that is not the case, it will be better to confine payment to those instances in which the work is of an episodic character, such as spring cleaning, waxing floors, washing windows, or cleaning the car. One careful family makes it a rule to allow the young people to undertake, at market prices, whatever work overtaxes the mother's schedule and would therefore be done by outside hired help, did the boys and girls not care to do it.

In another household, where the mother's health does not permit her to do more than

light housekeeping, the children are paid for all the work they do, in weekly salaries scaled according to the number and value of the tasks they regularly take over. Nothing is paid out of the family for housework, and the two adolescent daughters are earning money enough to clothe themselves and spend on the incidentals of high-school life, besides laying by a nest egg for luxuries during college days. Doing without a maid enables the parents to complete their saving of the amount necessary for the girls' college education, since what is paid to the daughters is no more than would otherwise be spent in clothing them. This plan could be changed so as to allow the children to do the saving for college, but that would give them less valuable training in the use of money, as merely banking money is an automatic procedure involving none of the judgment necessary in budgeting one's clothes allowance.

ALLOWANCE VERSUS MONEY PAYMENTS

Both a regular allowance and special payments have their part in the financial training of the child. The allowance is easier for the parent, since it avoids the complications incidental to paid labor, but it is harder on the child, if not supplemented by the possibility of earn-

ing money, since he has so long to wait if he is to get together a sum of money large enough to meet his wants, which are of course always in advance of his budget. If the child can earn, he is able, by industry and renunciation, to amass money adequate for his needs in a fairly short time.

MISAPPROPRIATION OF MONEY

It sometimes happens 'in the best of families' that a child begins to take money out of parents' and visitors' pocketbooks. When this is discovered, the first question the parent must ask himself is, 'Does that child have sufficient opportunity to acquire money by legitimate means? Is his allowance big enough for a child of his age and desires? Should he be given more opportunity to earn money?' Often a thoroughgoing answer to these questions will straighten out the whole matter, for the child was being held to an infantile level of limitations in regard to money.

Aside from showing the child the unfairness of his acts, the parent will wisely steer clear of discussion of the misdemeanor. The behavior will in all probability change, when the child finds that his naughtiness has been detected, provided he is not shamed into losing confidence in his power to overcome his bad habit. He

should have every assistance that can be given, by the withholding of unnecessary temptation, but this must not extend to the denial of responsibility in money matters, once progress is being made. Nothing makes it harder for a child to stick to the path of honesty than the realization that nobody expects him to be honest. 'You all look at me as if I stole the money you can't find. I didn't, but next time I get a chance I might as well, if that is how you feel about me,' burst out a much-tried child of eight, whose family had fallen into the habit of supposing that he had appropriated whatever was missing.

A child sometimes takes to stealing as a means of getting relief from emotional conflict. This is discussed at length in Chapter X.

FAMILY ATTITUDES

The attitude of a family toward money is one of the first large social questions with which the child has contact. If this attitude is extreme either in the direction of overemphasis or negligence the child is likely to be pushed toward taking an extreme position, in his turn, though this may be the opposite of the parent's tendency.

If the family passes through a phase of dire poverty, this experience may so impress the

children as to make them, in adult life, give themselves utterly to the making and saving of money, so that they never have any time to devote to the education of their unproductive faculties nor any desire to spend the money they pass their lives in getting together. If the children are able to overcome this tendency they are still liable to be pursued by the fear of poverty, so that they are never free from worry, but continue their worth-while work, which brings in only a moderate income, at the constant price of anxiety, and must ever drive themselves, though in an occupation more socially valuable than lucrative, to be more productive or more saving so as to keep from the door the wolf of their imaginings. Others react against the poverty of childhood by shutting out of their minds the possibility of a recurrence of the experience, and cover the doorway to their hidden fears by indulging in needless minor extravagances and surrounding themselves with small luxuries beyond their means, in the attempt to convince themselves that poverty could never threaten to enter their lives again.

Whatever one's policy in regard to money, it is the amount of emotion centering around it that makes money the root of much friction in domestic life and restlessness or narrowness in

the life of the individual. Not how much one saves or spends, but why, is the criterion of money sense. If one spends only to satisfy an unreasoning inner compulsion, born of childish restrictions in the spending of money, one is sure to make trouble for oneself and one's family as needless expenditures crowd out the investments that mean permanent worth or make possible professional or business advancement.

REFERENCES

E. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Use of Money*, chapter I, deals with the significance of financial training. The second chapter of this book will give mothers and fathers insight in dealing with the money problems of their children. Another good treatment is found in Mrs. S. M. Gruenberg's *Your Child Today and Tomorrow*, chapter VIII. Mrs. Gruenberg has an article, 'Money: Training Children in its Use' in *Children, the Magazine for Parents*, March, 1927.

CHAPTER IX

INFERIORITY FEELING

A CLEAR knowledge of the meaning and significance of inferiority feeling is indispensable to parents. The term has been added to our psychological vocabulary largely because of the work of Dr. Alfred Adler, of Vienna, Austria, one of the great psychiatrists of our time. Frequently, what Adler describes is called the inferiority complex. Inferiority feeling conveys the meaning of the experience better to parents and it is the term preferred by Adler himself.

Adler's attention was attracted to the meaning and significance of inferiority reaction from his study of individuals who, handicapped in their physical constitution, develop what is called compensation. In order to protect itself from its weakness, the body finds some means by which it can compensate for its defect; for example, upon the disappearance of one kidney, the other kidney increases its function to make up for the loss. Adler noticed the psychic results that come to individuals who suffer from body deficiency. When some organ in the body is a cause of trouble, it demands special atten-

tion and comes to have an exaggerated place in the thinking of the individual. Thus the personality becomes largely centered about the inferiority experience and with this develops in many cases a chronic feeling of inferiority.

Once this idea was well established, it became clear that it could not be confined merely to body handicaps, but that any sort of experience, especially in the early years of childhood, which led to an exaggerated attention and feeling of inferiority quickly gave a definite set to the personality from which complete recovery at any later time was difficult.

Of course, recent science has merely discovered and named a human weakness that has always been troublesome. There is much, however, in modern life to exaggerate the risk of building up inferiority feeling, and perhaps in America, where competition is so keen and from every quarter comes an incentive to ambition, the danger of inferiority feeling is greater than elsewhere. It is important for the parent to realize that inferiority feeling usually develops early, and that it is a great mistake to use shame or public disgrace or anything that will lead to strong feeling of social inferiority as a means of discipline. It is also necessary for the wise parent to be quick to notice when such feelings of inferiority arise,

from whatever source they come. It must be remembered that many times the cause of the inferiority feeling is entirely fictitious, but that this does not in the slightest decrease the possible harm that may come from the experience. If the child feels inferior, he is so to himself, even though the supposed fault may to the adult appear not weakness but strength.

There are two apparently opposing attitudes that come out of inferiority feeling. One is timidity and the other aggressiveness. Different as they appear in action, they are merely unlike expressions of the same condition. In one the individual reveals his weakness, while in the other he attempts to cover it up by assuming the exact opposite. Commonly, the victim of inferiority feeling will be timid under certain circumstances and aggressive under others. The husband who shrinks in his contact with his associates at work may become within the privacy of the home, if he finds that he can domineer over his wife and children, a domestic bully.

Inferiority feeling leads to three very common vices that destroy the happiness of the victims and make the life of others miserable. These are excessive sensitiveness, jealousy, and chronic fault-finding. The person possessed by inferiority feeling is always on the lookout for an attack

and therefore exaggerates the supposed slight or any criticism that he receives. Inferiority feeling brings to some a constant tendency to become jealous whenever any one about them receives praise or distinction or enjoys favored circumstances. A milder but extremely disagreeable expression of inferiority feeling is the habit of some to be constantly harping upon the weaknesses they discover in others. They attempt to elevate themselves by pulling others down.

It is often asked whether every one does not have feelings of inferiority. Only those abnormally conceited and destitute in the understanding of themselves would admit no deficiency. Inferiority feeling, however, does not mean knowing that one has faults, but having an unwholesome attitude toward one's weaknesses.

It has been pointed out by some authors that inferiority feeling often stirs up desire for what we can well call social compensation. There are many illustrations of this in history, and a book, called 'The Golden Complex,' by L. W. Dodd, portrays such persons. Ambition, with its struggle for distinction, is indeed the best use that can be made of a chronic feeling of inferiority, and from such procedure society benefits a great deal. The wise parent, however, will re-

cognize that these individuals are seldom happy and that achievement need not be built upon the motive of inferiority compensation. It is also true that the great proportion of persons who are enslaved by their feelings of inferiority do not emerge through distinction but instead take refuge from life or expend their energy in petty jealousy or constant fault-finding. As a rule, the feeling of inferiority acts as a damper upon the activities of the sufferer. Thought of defeat becomes a poor preparation for any enterprise. The child who has learned to expect success in any reasonable undertaking is not only, in the great proportion of cases, the happier child, but also in the testing of life the one usually victorious.

THE BEGINNING OF INFERIORITY FEELING

The child of two or three may already be driven into inferiority feeling if he is over-protected or discriminated against. 'Oh, John can't do that; he is too little,' is the common ration meted out to the younger brother or sister by those who are older. The first child and only child get the same dose from the parent, only it is sugar-coated and administered in the form of 'Let Mother do it for you.' 'No, Baby do,' objects the robust child, as he fights his

way to the self-direction that is his birthright, 'Baby do that,' and he tugs at the washcloth and splashes with the soap, spattering himself with water, but ecstatically enjoying his hard-won chance to 'Wash Baby own face.' The more delicate child may submit, patient or squalling, to being attended to instead of being permitted to wait on himself, and perhaps in time give up struggling to free himself from the meshes of overpowering authority.

Plenty of activities are necessarily forbidden to a small child because they endanger his health or safety. Often and often must he be told he cannot do thus and so 'because he is too little.' But to crowd him down at the points at which he is ready to emerge from the helplessness of babyhood is to teach him to distrust his own powers and suppose himself forever less capable than other people.

MISPLACED ADULT COMMENTS

One of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of parents who would bring up their children free from exaggerated inferiority feeling is the unfortunate habit of adult friends of the family, which makes them, in their heavy-handed effort to show polite interest in the children, make personal remarks about the little —

and not so little — ones. 'What a tiny thing he is!' greets the temporarily undersized child and 'My! what a big girl you are!' emphasizes the awkward feeling of the overgrown girl. 'Why, how much you look like your grandfather Cotton! His very nose!' — and the child feels that there must be something very queer about him to make him look like so old a person. As for that nose, it must be monstrous indeed if it is just like Grandpa's.

When this sort of thing happens not once but time after time, the child begins to feel that there is something queer about him. Wherever he goes he imagines people laughing at him because he is so little — or so big — so fat, or so thin, because he has big eyes or whatever his peculiar feature may be. Even when the child outgrows his peculiarity by the simple process of growing up to it, he still thinks of himself as he used to be. The young woman of medium height spends years thinking of herself as tall and gauche, because so much was said of her lank awkwardness in the period when she had outstripped her age-mates, and nobody ever thinks of reassuring her when this time has passed and she is to be counted as of inconspicuous average build. The undersized boy may make up for lost time, and perhaps even

excel his older friends in height and weight, but he does not easily learn to accept the fact that he is now no different from his hero, the big boy across the street.

COMPARISON

Most easily do well-meaning adults fall into error when they try to take polite notice of more than one child. Almost invariably this resolves itself into remarks that emphasize the good points of one child at the expense of the other.

'What beautiful curls Esther has! How pretty she is!' The straight-haired sister pretends not to hear, but later she secretly studies her own meager charms in the mirror, and grows to hate her plain face so bitterly that she cannot forget her handicap long enough to be at home with strange people. Always she feels as does a housekeeper caught by company in an untidy work dress — as if she is forced to appear at a disadvantage, and cannot therefore let herself go in conversation but must be forever wondering what her guests are thinking of her, and wishing the ordeal over.

When parents see that one of their children is being praised at the expense of another, they can somewhat mitigate the harmfulness of the

experience by casually remarking to the slighted child that people used to be always saying such things to her; it seems to be the only way they know how to talk to little children, or else it is because every one likes little children so much they can't help talking about them. Or it may be that they think flattery will roll off the little child, but would spoil the older one. If it is the older child who gets the praise, the younger one can be helped to bring out her own good points, by planning her clothes with an eye to making the most of whatever attractiveness is hers, by building up abounding good health, and by letting her gain confidence through an understanding of the fact that different people are most attractive at different ages and her time is lying ahead of her, where she won't so soon have to look back upon it, but can look forward to it and will enjoy it all the more for having had to wait for it. Both the attractive and the unattractive girl need to be given insight into the relative values of physical charm and deeper qualities that attract less quickly but are more enduring in their power to satisfy the holder as well as the observer.

Old sayings, like the observation in 'Lorna Doone,' that the sharper a girl's elbows, the worse her temper, show how common is the con-

nectión between a consciousness of homeliness and the development of characteristic inferiority reactions. Fortunately, to-day, girls are less handicapped by lack of good looks than in the past, for it is no longer the fashion to demand prettiness so much as effectiveness in the feminine half of the passing show. As girls reach the later years of adolescence many of them realize this, and even those who consider themselves plain have to admit that this is not the obstacle to happiness that they had supposed.

It is in the uncertain years from six to sixteen that inferiority feelings are liable to be awakened in girls because of real or supposed plainness, which may or may not be permanent. Often it is the inadequacy of the audience to appreciate a rare type of beauty that is at the bottom of the situation. However this may be, it does not always follow that with either the establishment of good looks or a real indifference to them, the habitual attitudes of inferiority feeling will disappear. The hostility to strangers, born of dread of their condescension, may persist long after experience has shown that strangers no longer ridicule, but respect or admire.

If adults-at-large could be taught the essence of good breeding in contact with children — to refrain as punctiliously from personal remarks

as if talking with age-equals — much suffering that twists character would be prevented.

THE DIFFERENT CHILD

As the girl whose beauty is slow in maturing is subjected to painful comparison with more precocious girls, so does the boy who is different from the ordinary run have a hard course to plough. Parents are worried by the son who does not romp, unthinking, through life. He who is feeling his way in a world of ideas, sights, sounds, anything that lies over and beyond the boundary of the ball field and fist fight, must dig his way through the misconceptions of others as well as his own doubts about himself.

'Bert isn't good for anything; we'll make a minister of him,' was the comment of many a parent in this situation a generation ago. Some of the Berts eventually became professional men of wide reputation, honest workers in one of the arts, even big business men. Often their achievement greatly overshadowed that of their brothers. But all had to fight against their parents' — and consequently their own — minimizing of their ability. Each one had heard much in boyhood of inadequacy, and few outgrew their inner feeling of inferiority, no matter how great the renown that came to them in the outside world.

It is certain that not all boys who are slow to take part in boyish games and half-hearted in their adherence to athletics are cut out for something finer than the routine work that most of the neighbor boys will spend their years doing, but it is plain that the boy who does not run true to form should not be given an extra handicap in the shape of distrust of himself and awareness of the little regard in which he is held by others. Whether a gifted or a handicapped child, he needs to have a fair chance to unfold whatever powers he has, unhurt by the prejudiced appraisal of those who interpret any divergence from uniformity of capacity as a calamity.

The boy who is not 'a regular boy' wants not to be coddled or over-praised at home to make up for the sneers he gets outside, but to be helped to achieve distinction among his mates, on the basis of his own powers. If he can construct a better radio than any one else, or keep his head in a panic, persist in the practice that means success in whatever activity he has chosen of those that interest most boys, if there is any one thing he can do well enough to command the respect of 'the other fellows,' he will soon find inferiority feeling slipping from him, provided he takes his own accomplishment not too seriously, but wins from it just enough self-respect

so that he can afford to admire the achievements of others.

SHYNESS

The little child who is shy is almost unavoidably exposed to a barrage of adult cruelty that is penetrating enough to implant deep feelings of inferiority. Every one the child encounters, in office and store, on the sidewalk and in his own home, takes it upon himself to try to get at least a word out of him. Apparently, in no other way can a child attract so much attention as by withdrawing into himself and refusing to allow himself to be led into speech. Often this is not due to stubbornness, but to uncertainty as to just how to express his thoughts, which are not always, as most adults naïvely suppose, so simple as to be capable of being conveyed in a word or two.

'Are you having a good time?' may seem to the grown-up who has forgotten his own childhood to require only the simple answer 'Yes,' or 'No.' But the child may be having neither a markedly good nor a noticeably bad time, and if he is conscious of this he does not like to answer in such a way as to give an incorrect impression, yet knows not how to put into words a statement of his situation. Oftener still, the child knows he

will be laughed at if he answers the adult's thoughtless question accurately. He has already learned that grown-ups either laugh or look queer when he tells them what he is thinking. 'I am deciding what toys to get for my children when I am big,' seems to startle big folk. At times, the child is silent because he cannot answer the questions put to him without being rude. 'Do you like the pretty toy I've brought you?' 'Well, it happens that I hate dolls that can't sit down, and I've already got three,' would be better unsaid, considers the child, and looks at her toes. Again, it may be that the adult asks personal questions which the child finds embarrassing.

'What are you doing in town this afternoon?'

Not for anything would delicate Robert admit that he has come in to consult a doctor, so he looks his questioner straight in the eyes and says nothing.

THE UGLY DUCKLING

Aside from these trivial happenings that are so common as to be almost universal, at least one child in practically every household being their butt, and developing therefrom a more or less persistent feeling of inferiority, there are a

number of graver happenings whose results are likely to be correspondingly more severe.

Parents sometimes have their hearts set so strongly on the ideal child of their imaginations, that anything short of this preconceived mold is in their eyes rank failure. Intellectual parents whose child shows no liking for books and abstractions are often very frank in letting the ugly duckling know that to their way of thinking he does them no credit. Being but a little child he considers his parents good judges, and comes to accept their estimate of himself as the true one. Supposing himself of no account, he is discouraged from trying to do the best he can, or he tries faithfully and fails because he is attempting the impossible, not knowing that his capabilities lie in other directions.

'You blockhead,' peppers out the scholastic father, aggravated to ineffectual distraction, 'what do you mean by standing at the bottom of your class? If you aren't ashamed of yourself, I'm ashamed of you. Get to work. Show what's in you. Look at your brothers and sisters. Do you ever see them bringing home such marks as those? You disgrace us all! To think that a son of mine should not even be able to keep up with the sons of bricklayers and storekeepers!'

'I don't care anything about books! I want to

be a storekeeper or a bricklayer! Why can't you leave me alone and let me do what I want to do? You do what you want. You couldn't lay bricks or keep store, and if you tried I could laugh at you. I can do those things better than you. Mary and Jane and Tom and Harry like books the way you do, that's why they get good marks. They couldn't do anything else if they tried. Set them to working outdoors at a real job with me and you know they couldn't stick it out an hour. They'd be running in to their pencils and books. That's all right with me. I don't care if they can't do anything but sit and read and talk and write. All I ask is to be let alone so I can have a chance to do what I want to do.'

If this isn't what browbeaten Jim says, it is what he thinks, at least in later years, if he is too much coerced to dare such free thinking while he is under the thumb of his parents. If he does see his situation thus clearly, disconnected fragments of his thoughts are likely to burst out in response to the perpetual ragging he gets from other members of the family, but because he lacks confidence in the rightness of his own statements, or in his ability to convince his hearers, he speaks with a hangdog air that is interpreted as sullenness, and merely

brings from his persecutors the command to 'Quit that back talk.'

In adult life this son is very likely to be the practical member of the family, perhaps the only one who can be depended on in emergencies, the one substantial, business-like person in a family of dreamers. Small wonder, then, if his early experience of being needlessly inflicted with a biting feeling of inferiority shall have soured him so that he protects himself against unhappy childhood memories by belittling those who have intellectual cravings.

PARENTAL AMBITIONS

Another sufferer from parental ideals to which he is a misfit is the child whose naturally ambitious parent determines that his child shall have the opportunities he could not get for himself. So far, so good. This is perhaps the core of all parental striving. But the harm comes when the parent expects the child to want the same type of opportunity the parent craved. This is all very well so long as the parent is able to see that the child is the one to decide what he is to do with his life. Opportunities may be presented, but if not responded to they should not be turned into duties.

The woman who was denied many social con-

tacts in her youth tries to push her daughter into social gaieties for which this particular child, perhaps by reason of the overanxious training she has been subjected to, has no desire. 'I am thinking of running away from home. If I stay here I shall have to "come out" next year, and I can't go through with it. It means that my whole family will go heavily in debt, and I shall be under constant pressure to make the most of my chances. The strain will be terrific, and I don't think I can face it. Whatever I do, my mother will be fearfully cut up. She cannot understand my dislike for it all. If I refuse to do it she will not let me alone. I have already told her how I feel about it, but she just keeps at me, begging, persuading, urging, and making me feel like a brute to deny her the pleasure she expects to get out of it. But I know I shall be a disappointment to her if I undertake it, because I simply do not care a hang about it. In fact, I violently dislike the whole performance. What I shall do I really don't know. Whatever I do I alienate my mother.' Thus spoke one girl.

INFERIORITY

Fortunately, it is not the extent of one's inferiority to one's mates, but one's reaction to the inferiority that is productive of harm. The de-

formed child, the sickly youth may adjust himself to his difficulty so that his attitude toward other people and himself is not embittered. It is the objective acceptance of facts as they are, without any feeling of shame, that makes possible this adjustment. If the child is trained to see his problem as a tangle of opposing forces, to be calmly studied and straightened out by thoughtful effort, making use of every scientific contribution within reach, or to be made the best of as an unalterable condition, he may be far happier and more serene in the consciousness of having capably met a trying situation, than is the spoiled youth whose very powerfulness in the close circle of the home makes him an easy prey to inferiority feeling at the hands of callous outsiders.

REFERENCES

In *Personality and Social Adjustment*, by E. R. Groves, appeared perhaps the first interpretation of inferiority feeling as a product of social situations. See chapter XV. Thom, in the *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*, chapter XIII, has a discussion that will help parents. A. Adler's *Understanding Human Nature* is the best of his books for the beginner. The student may wisely read W. F. Vaughan's *The Lure of Superiority* and W. A. White's *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, chapters XI and XII, before starting on Adler's more serious books. Of these *The Neurotic Constitution* and the *Study on Organ Inferiority and its Psychical Compensation* are the most important.

CHAPTER X

EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

CERTAIN kinds of behavior problems originate from mental conflict. This term was first used by Dr. Healy, to whom we owe so much for our understanding of juvenile delinquency. In his clinic investigation, he discovered that the bad conduct of boys and girls was frequently an expression of inner tension; for example, the child fighting a temptation that enticed him with great strength would find relief in some lesser form of bad conduct. Some authors, to emphasize the emotional character of this disturbance, prefer to speak of the experience as an emotional conflict.

The child passing through a mental conflict is essentially a battlefield. His desires are in collision with the situation in which he finds himself. Sometimes the contest is primarily a struggle between opposing impulses or trends leading to inner discord. At other times the child's former security or confidence is invaded by thoughts or fears undesired, and protest is made against the disturbance by turning to evil thoughts or actions that previously had no in-

terest for the child. It is this clear change of characteristic action that reveals the mental conflict. The parent who discovers how easily his own inner dissatisfactions show themselves, as he scolds or opposes others who are totally unconnected with the original cause of irritation, readily understands the way the child feels as he goes through his ordeal.

Although mental conflicts originate in very early years, they are more commonly and forcefully expressed in the period of adolescence. Modern youth often has this experience, in part because of the complex life which stimulates desires the child cannot satisfy, and in part because of the intense competition, characteristic of our time, which colors the background of the adolescent and spurs his egoistic striving or makes him extremely sensitive to any experience that he interprets as lessening his social prestige. The very sensitive, highly imaginative child runs greater risk of developing a mental conflict. No child of normal intelligence will escape the experience if the circumstances of his life bring him sufficient stimuli.

One of the common forms of mental conflict has to do with some shock which destroys the moral or social security of the child. The reaction many children have when for the first

time they discover that they are adopted into the family where they had assumed they were born is an example of shock. The child who feels great shame or a tremendous sense of failure frequently enters upon a mental conflict with characteristic variation from his former good conduct. The feeling of the child that he has been unjustly treated by parent or teacher is also a common cause of mental conflict. It matters not if the child misunderstands, having no real ground for his feeling, so long as he thinks himself injured, his behavior runs risk of becoming a way of relief from his emotional conflict.

Of all the causes of mental conflict, there is none in our time so often present as disturbances arising out of sex. When the child has been neglected or the instruction that he has received has not been wisely given it is easy for him to suffer shock, to develop fear, or to enter upon an anxious struggle between his desire to satisfy curiosity and his inclination to continue to conform with what he has been taught is proper conduct. These experiences of adolescent upheaval due to sex are doubtless more common than most parents or teachers suspect. When the adult who does not understand the situation shows his ignorance in harsh treatment, the

final result is liable to be a serious delinquency that can easily be the foundation of a criminal career which no later treatment can change into wholesome social behavior.

EARLY EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

One of the earliest clear expressions of emotional conflict appears in the conduct of the little child who 'takes out' on a younger brother or sister the irritation he feels because things do not go smoothly with him. The two-year-old who sees his commanding place in the family usurped by the new baby, for whose coming he had not been prepared, not uncommonly relieves his inner tension by slapping or biting the offending infant.

The three-year-old who is hectored by older children in his outdoor play often comes home boiling over with the vexation he has had to hide in order to try to keep a stiff upper lip and hold up his end, in however wobbly a fashion. Seeing his untroubled young brother toddling about the house, he gives him a shove, and recovers good humor when the little fellow topples over and picks himself up, howling. By becoming the aggressor and causing unhappiness instead of meekly suffering, the older child feels that he has vindicated his manfulness. 'Aw!

he's just a cry-baby. Look at me fall down. I wouldn't cry at a little thing like that. He's got to learn not to cry every time he gets hurt.' And off goes Three-years, happy in his restored good-nature, and able to forget for the time being his persecutors.

INFERIORITY FEELING AND EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

The child of six or seven may react emotionally against a biting feeling of inferiority, whether because he has heard himself constantly spoken of as 'not strong like the other children,' or because he is in a class with smaller boys and girls at school, either on account of his having lost time through illness or by reason of his being extraordinarily large for his age, so that he seems older than he is and gives the impression of being mentally retarded when he, with the body of a ten-year-old, acts and speaks like a seven-year-old. Whatever the cause of the inferiority feeling, and regardless of whether or not any inferiority really exists, the child who broods over his consciousness of inferiority suffers intense emotional conflict because he is torn between pride in his native belief that he is superior to others, and shame over the real or supposed contempt shown him by others.

Normally every one believes in his own excellence, at least in some ways, and when he feels that in the eyes of others his failings heavily outweigh his good points, he takes this very much to heart. Now tossed up into the heights by his estimation of himself, and now sucked into a bog by the slights he sees or fancies others dealing out to him, he is torn by cruel inner conflict, from which he must seek relief. Easily he snaps at whoever is less powerful than himself, losing his temper on little apparent provocation, and passionately hurling taunts or tangible blows at the brother or sister whom he thinks unjustly favored in comparison with his unfortunate self.

When a child who is ordinarily rather lacking in aggressiveness suddenly displays great ferocity on a trivial pretext, especially if this outburst is directed against a more popular member of the group, we may well suspect emotional conflict due to inferiority feeling as the root cause of the sudden uncharacteristic behavior. The bad behavior can be uprooted by paying little attention to it, but digging out the inferiority feeling and replacing it with well founded self-confidence.

SEX AND EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

When a child suddenly begins stealing, and persists in his new course, though he makes little use of what he takes, he may be seeking relief from the unendurable inner conflict occasioned by his efforts not to yield to baser temptations. The decent boy or girl who has been introduced to bad sex practices, though it be only in the rôle of spectator, is torn between the horrid fascination of his dramatic entrance into a mysterious field, and his carefully trained repugnance even to thinking about sex. Trying to stick to his principles and not demean himself by joining the other children, he is yet unable to get their doings out of his head.

Were he to follow weakly the vicious leadership whose spell he is resisting, there would be no conflict. It is the terrific effort the child is making to maintain his integrity at the vital point of attack that racks him beyond his endurance. Intent on banishing from his mind the sordid pictures that haunt him — and haunt him the more successfully because he so fears them — he is ready to turn his hand to whatever lesser evil presents itself, if only he can momentarily forget the anxiety that besets him. Never before has he wanted to steal, but now when he is restlessly trying to shake off his unmanageable

thoughts, thoughts that come between him and his lessons, his story-books, his play, he finds that he can lose himself in the excitement of planning and carrying out the minor escapade of theft. Once he makes this discovery, thievery beckons to him whenever his thoughts pursue him most relentlessly, much as the glass or the powder promises solace to the drunkard or other drug addict whenever life seems blackest.

The child in this predicament can be lifted out of his disrupting conflict if he will share his secret worry with an understanding parent or child guidance expert. He can be taught to take a matter-of-fact rather than an emotional attitude toward his difficulty, and he can be moved to a new environment for a few months, where the harassing thoughts will not be suggested. A more active life, with new friends, new scenes, new interests, and new associations will help to give the child once more control of himself and his thoughts.

INSECURITY AND EMOTIONAL CONFLICT

In that home where divorce lifts its gaunt head, the child's world rocks, his standards crash, and the security that till now has been his birthright shatters into chaos. Uncertainty as to basic values is catastrophic to any one:

how much worse for the child, whose contacts are so limited, and whose experience is so meager, that insecurity seems permanent and all-embracing disaster!

The child's world has been polarized by father and mother. Now that one of them drops out of sight, leaving, it may be, no channel of communication open, or at best appearing and disappearing intermittently, the child braves stormy seas. Though his sympathies be turned against the missing parent, he only suffers the more. He wants, not the dismissal of the erring parent, but the possession of two dependable ones whom he can respect and love. Failing this, he craves unassailable memories. Unfortunately, this is just what the mechanism of the divorce trial with its ensuing publicity and gossip deny him.

The divorceling is thrown into the predicament of being forced to distrust, perhaps despise, one or both of the two persons he grew into life admiring and trusting. Not all at once can he thus reverse his feelings. The love of his first years steals back upon him now and again, catching him unawares and tossing him into new turmoil between the necessity of adjusting to his present situation and the impossibility of forgetting early affection.

Twisted and mauled by turbulent loves and hates, the child struggles within himself for a new set of values that will bring him peace. Unable to stand the strain, he may give vent to his emotional conflict by running away from home, as one fourteen-year-old boy did when a new marriage brought him a pseudo-parent in place of the one he had lost, or by entering upon a fast and free life with unprincipled companions. This happens not, as some of the good old gossips used to say, because the child inherits the 'bad blood of the parent,' and takes to evil ways as naturally as his mother or father took to the reprehensible step of divorce, but rather the child is just making use of whatever opportunity for a mild explosion comes his way, as a safety-valve for the tumultuous feelings raging within him.

A similar, but far milder, situation occurs when a child is orphaned. In varying degrees according to the amount of tension represented, this is the story also of children in homes disturbed by constant discord.

The remedy, so far as there is any, lies in getting the child to perceive the connection between his domestic mixup and the wild behavior in which he has been indulging. To be able to act rationally instead of aggravating a bad

situation by worse conduct, he must, if possible, get rid of his sentimental attitude toward divorce and accept it at its face value, as a confession of the failure of two individuals to carry out their common enterprise.

SOCIAL STRAIN AND INNER CONFLICT

The girl or boy who is under excessive strain in the social life of school or leisure hours may develop acute inner conflict which issues in bad behavior at home or at school. The good-natured, easy-going child who suddenly begins storming about the house, arguing heatedly about trifles, refusing obedience in little things, and violently attacking other members of the family on slight provocation, or getting in trouble with his teachers at school, may be working off the stress he feels due to emotional conflict resulting from his unsuccessful attempts to win popularity, or to give up unworthy companions.

In this case the part of the parent is to overlook the small annoyances of the child's minor misconduct and lessen the pressure put on him in the home, that he may concentrate on solving the problem that irks him. If he can settle his quandary for himself, he will come out of the experience strengthened in character.

REFERENCES

Every parent is urged to follow the reading of this chapter with W. Healy's *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct. Personality and Social Adjustment*, chapter V, by E. R. Groves, has a brief treatment of the emotional basis of social conflict. I. J. Sands and P. Blanchard, in their *Abnormal Behavior*, chapter II, discuss conflict in its relation to conduct disorders. M. B. Sayles, in *The Problem Child at Home*, gives case studies that illustrate mental conflicts. For more advanced study A. G. Tansley's *The New Psychology*, chapter X, and W. A. White's *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, chapter IV, are recommended.

CHAPTER XI

DAYDREAMING

CHILDREN are lovers of fancy. The adult cannot come into close contact with little children without being impressed by the large place imagination has in their life. This is partly because the child so often fails to distinguish between his mental pictures and reality, and partly because he delights to make a playful use of his power of imagination. The free way the child uses imagination, however pleasant it is for him, becomes for the parent frequently a matter of grave concern, sometimes even for serious fear. This may be because the parent fails to enter sympathetically into the life of the child and by his lack of understanding is unfortunately impelled to attempt to put upon the child adult standards of thought and speech. This is not, however, always the case, for the thoughtful parent realizes that the child must be directed in his imagination as in all his other activities and that it is not difficult for him to start habits which, if continued, become eventually a cause of trouble.

There is hardly any problem that requires more discretion on the part of the parent than

this guidance of the child's imagination. It is complicated by the fact that normally the child changes in his playful thinking as he moves from one level of development to another. There is also considerable variation in children, not only with reference to the time when they arrive at any stage in their imagination, but also in the quantity of imagination they experience. While some are poets in embryo, others appear from the start almost empty of creative thinking, resembling more the prosaic adult than the normal child.

The type of imagination that puzzles the parent most is what scientists call daydreaming. The proneness of the child, at least by the age of three, to build castles in the air is so characteristic that its absence attracts attention. It is not uncommon for the parent to come down upon the habit with a heavy hand. This hostility to daydreaming is not always a result of wise conviction but instead merely registers, in the case of many parents, their own prosaic character and the chronic drabness of their life. It was this that Wordsworth had in mind when he pictured the child with advancing years travelling away from his early paradise. Unless the parent keeps in mind the losses that experience has often brought him in taking from him his

original response to fancy, he cannot deal wisely with a highly imaginative child.

In the interpretation of daydreaming, it is necessary first of all to recognize how naturally it is related to the child's desire for pleasure. It is a type of activity which satisfies the perfectly normal and wholesome cravings of the child for pleasurable experiences. Sometimes it seems predominantly a play; at other times it resembles what in the adult is called creative imagination — the sort of thing that makes possible our literature and other expressions of art.

In spite of the promise of childish imagination, it frequently needs curbing, especially as it develops into habits of daydreaming. When the child specialist condemns daydreaming he is thinking of its mischievous form, its use as a substitute for the responsibilities the child ought to face. What the parent calls daydreaming sometimes is a stimulating influence upon the life of the child which gives him strong motives for his most worth-while activities. Daydreaming also at times has a therapeutic value for children who are afflicted with heavy burdens that they have to carry. Dickens's picture of a father entertaining his blind child with fancies is an example.

The great menace which daydreaming so

often represents is the opportunity it gives the child to run away from real things and build up a fictitious life which more and more has to be defended from the attacks of outside experiences. This sort of daydreaming is an attempt by the older child to return to his easy early life, and it therefore brings about a continued failure to mature. As a consequence the character is weakened and the individual increasingly has to obtain his satisfactions by the process of self-deception.

It is easy to see that if we heap upon the child too great a load of responsibility we tempt him to recoil from his burdens by developing the habit of daydreaming. It must not be forgotten also that the seriousness of the ordeal that any child faces in his contact with the everyday world is always a relative matter, that we have to judge whether or not we are putting too much strain upon him by the reaction that he makes. The introvertive child is naturally the more prone to retreat from reality and take refuge in the world he creates by fancy. Severe punishment for his flight from reality, especially any form of public shame, will only impel him all the more to shut himself up even though he has to attempt the outward signs of wrestling with the world. The moment he is free from observation,

under those circumstances, he runs back to his fictitious world to find the satisfactions that are denied him in his contact with actual conditions. Perhaps there is no place where blunders are more frequently committed against this type of child than at school.

It is not difficult to detect the lack of concentration which the daydreaming child reveals as his mind turns inward and busies itself with fancy, but it is quite another matter to recognize that the school routine is lacking in its appeal to the child and seems brutally antagonistic to his pleasure. The teacher's habit of punishing him for his failure only makes it all the easier for the school to lose the power of gripping his attention, and the treatment he receives often confirms him in his unfortunate habit.

In the mental abnormalities which we describe as neuroses we find this daydreaming practice carried to an extreme. The patient seems possessed by the fancies of his own creation. Daydreaming is so characteristic of the neurosis that when it appears in an extreme form in the child it gives warning of the danger of the development of a psychopathic personality.

IMAGINATION RAMPANT

'We don't know whether to be pleased or terrified at Ann's imagination,' said one of that young lady's parents the other day. 'Almost from the day of her birth we have trained her powers of make-believe by pantomime, plays and stories. We have succeeded so well that we are wondering whether we should not now try to curb that strong imagination we have evoked. Very nearly as soon as she could talk Ann began to play imaginative games, and now that she is three she seems scarcely able to draw the line between what she sees and hears and smells or tastes or touches, and what she imagines.

'The children she plays with find it very trying to have her ask them politely but in utmost earnestness to please get up and go somewhere else because they're sitting on her darling child, when nothing is to be seen in that part of the yard but grass and leaves. This sort of thing happens not once but many times in the course of a morning. And still more annoying to her playmates is Ann's way of assuring them solemnly that the stick they are holding is a wriggling snake and they must throw it away quick, or that their doll is very sick with "flu" and they must keep away from her or they will catch it, that their new fire engine has been turned into

an old stick of wood and must be thrown away, or that they, themselves, are her children and have to do as she says. Of course, most children do this somewhat, but Ann carries it so far that she hardly ever plays real games, and seldom appears to be more deeply troubled or pleased by actual happenings than by those of the little world of her own creation in which she lives.'

Happily, Ann has a very matter-of-fact young brother, and neighbor children to play with who are bound to show her in no uncertain terms the outlines of hard fact. If she showed no interest in other children, or were less affected by actual than by imagined happenings, her plight would be serious, as, indeed, it would be if she were two or three years older.

So gaily does the very young child thrive on the sweets of imagination, as a purely temporary phase in the process of growing up, that one need not be alarmed at his changing fancies, but only take pains not to prevent his outgrowing them. If his dreaming ways bring him so much attention and adult comment, either favorable or adverse, that they are in his eyes a valuable stock in trade, he will not lightly relinquish them. Nor will he readily give up his pretend-games if he finds that they stand between him and reproof or hardship.

A four-year-old whose baby brother, Teddy, had recently died said, when confronted with evidences of naughtiness, 'But I didn't want to do it, Mamma; Teddy told me to, so I did it to please him.' If such reliance on unseen authority gains unaccustomed parental leniency, it would be strange, indeed, if the child were to hurry to give up his visions. This shifting of responsibility to the world of phantasy is as dangerous as anything the child can do, for he is then not the acknowledged master of himself, nor yet to be mastered by any outside authority, but the puppet of his own will-o'-the-wisp dreams.

USEFUL IMAGINATION

How to draw the line between imagination that shades over into harmful daydreaming and that which serves a useful purpose is a question that confronts every parent. Whether the child's fancies play about the matter of fact details of his daily life or dart far afield, they may be of value to him by widening his ambition and appreciation.

When a girl of six living in Albuquerque, New Mexico, writes:

> I'd like to see the ocean,
> The ships from every land;

The fishes in the water,
The sea-shells on the sand,[1]

and illustrates her longing with a realistic picture of the ocean of her dreams, that is a legitimate use of imagination that enlarges the child's horizon.

Equally, when a child of four dresses in Mamma's shoes and dress or Daddy's hat and coat, he is extending his power by the use of imagination, into the fields of adult life that lie ahead of him. By so much he is learning to appreciate possibilities as yet untasted and is beginning to acquire the ability to work and wait for goals not immediately attainable. Thinking of himself as a potential adult, the child lays the basis for his assumption of ever greater responsibilities, in preparation for final maturity.

As long as a child does not turn away from real life to content himself with dreams of easy victories and great awards that are to be his, unearned, there is no need of the parent's becoming anxious over the depth and richness of the child's imaginative life. It is not the power and extent of the child's imaginative excursions, but his dependence on them that is the crucial matter.

[1] Reprinted by permission from *Junior Home*, September, 1928, page 18.

FAIRY TALES AND FACT FACING

Some parents, remembering their own youthful delight in fairy tales, regret their children's distaste for fanciful stories. Fortunately there are plenty of other avenues for developing the imagination besides that of fairy stories, and these parents can give their children different samplings of poetry, bits of old folk-tales, or, if the child reacts against these, straight biography, accounts of travel, exploration, and adventure, sticking close to the facts, but none the less exciting wonder and exercising imagination.

Other parents, troubled by the risk of fostering habits of daydreaming, are perplexed by the question, whether to introduce their children to the fairy lore, and if so how to withdraw gracefully from the period of acceptance of the easy ways of magic folk. Preferably, those who present their children with fairy tales should always answer the inevitable 'Is this really true?' with a frank admission that it is 'pretend-true,' only make-believe, but something we like to pretend is true.

However, many of us are already involved in the predicament of having allowed our children to swallow full-throatedly the glamor of fairy folk, and now that the girl or boy is old enough to question the truth of the stories he has been

reveling in, we are puzzled as to how to find our way out of our quandary. One seven-year-old girl, uncertain as to the reliability of the fairies she had happily believed in, contrived a situation calculated to test the existence of fairies. In this she showed herself a wise little girl, meeting a disheartening situation by staging an experiment to lay bare the facts, instead of grieving helplessly or daydreaming about what she wished were true, though the probabilities were against it. Her scientific attitude, coupled with the free roaming imagination fostered by fairy lore, should carry her far in mature achievement.

To the parent now belonged the delicate task of helping her to switch from reliance on fancy alone to enjoyment of imaginary soarings that are firmly grounded in reality. This is the disciplined imagination that dreams and works to make its dreams come true. Here is the source of creative power, whether in real estate development, in art, or in scientific research.

The step from make-believe to a reliance on facts illumined by imagination is one that counts for so much, it is worth while to take pains to help the child take it smoothly. Trying to cling to one's blind acceptance of the supernatural powers of the 'wee folk' may be partially successful, as in the case of the twelve-

year-old who whispered to her fellow blueberry-picker that she no longer believed in fairies, but didn't want to say so out loud, 'because if there are fairies it would hurt their feelings.'

Such a child easily rests content with dreaming of what the fairies may do for her, rather than toiling to gain her own ends. Other children stop using the word, *fairies*, but carry over their idea about the helpfulness of fairy folk, in terms of unfounded expectations of getting big results with little effort, so that all through life they protect themselves from 'getting down to brass tacks' by waiting for 'something to turn up' that will save them the trouble of doing anything for themselves.

The child that is pushed too abruptly into jumping from fairyland to the unrelieved glare of reality may by this painful experience be forever turned against trying his wings in fancy, so that his life is more humdrum than it need be.

When first one begins to question the existence of fairies one should be answered honestly that fairies are only make-believe, but that people have always liked to pretend they were real; and that long ago grown-ups believed there were elves or 'little folk' who helped any one they liked, and that most people took pains to please

the fairy folk and were very careful not to offend them.

Fairies lived, one might say, in the hearts of men, keeping them company when they were lonely and answering many of their questions as to how and why things happened. Children, too, like the simpler peoples of the past, have especial need of companionship and are puzzled by many questions they know not how to ask, so we introduce them to the fairies men have so long believed in, that they may walk and talk with the 'wee folk' while they, too, are little.

A child can be told that as he grows up, he becomes able to understand so much more about the world he lives in that he no longer needs the fairies to befriend him, but can see what early men could not — that there are no fairies. Really they are just a happy pretend-game we play with little children. Older boys and girls can still pretend there are fairies, and dance on the magic circles of fine grass where midnight revels are held by the tiny people, or sit on the fairy queen's couch of soft moss and climb the fairy steps made by exposed roots of big trees on the hillside; there is yet fun to be had in thinking of the fairies when one knows them to be only the creatures of fancy.

The fairy tales of different lands can be followed by less fanciful folk-tales, and these by the half-mythical heroes such as Arthur of the Round Table and Saint Patrick, until the child is ready for the honest-to-goodness men and women of actual biography.

HONESTY AND REALITY

The very little child has a hard time in discerning the outlines of fact and knowing where imagination ends and actuality begins, but that is only because he has had so little experience in life that he cannot yet tell what to expect and what would be ridiculous or impossible. He can be helped to observe and report accurately by being shown just where his statements have wandered astray, without confusing him by saying he is 'bad' when he is only undeveloped.

The older child may avoid facts because they are unpleasant and retreat to the world of his dreams, until he almost persuades himself that this is the more important part of life. To prevent this, he can be assisted in finding more joy in real experiences. Removing repressive fear and encouraging his taking an active part in happiness-producing activities will help him to emerge from his hermitage of unreality.

Phantasy that protects a child from seeing

things as they are may sometimes be necessary, when the conditions he must face are too barren of normal cheer to be endurable, but that is only his last resort, and one filled with its own risks, which he is driven to enter when nobody is at hand to relieve his situation or strengthen him to accept it at its face value. Daydreaming that is temporary, and is supplemented by efforts to make wholesome dreams come true is a valuable part of the process of growing-up, but persistent daydreaming, entirely dissociated from real life, remains a source of possible danger.

The wise parent stands ready to lighten the load that is so heavy as to force the child to sink into the world of his dreams, and to make possible the child's finding a valuable outlet for his energies, through freedom of activity, lest his cravings for achievement degenerate into dreams.

Because girls are so often circumscribed in their behavior, as compared with boys, this is a matter that especially concerns every girl. Parents who have a son that is physically delicate will also have much to do with this question.

REFERENCES

F. H. Richardson, in *Parenthood and the Newer Psychology* (chapter VII), writes helpfully on daydreaming. F. G. Wickes, in her *Inner World of Childhood*, discusses 'Imaginary Companions' (chapter VII), 'Dreams' (chapter X), and 'Correlation of Dream and Phantasy Material' (chapter XI). M. Drummond's *Some Contributions to Child Psychology* deals with 'Imagination' (chapters VI and VII) and 'Magic' (chapter VIII). *Personality and Social Adjustment* (chapter XVI) considers the social aspects of daydreaming. *Psychoanalysis in the Class Room*, by G. H. Green, has information that will interest the teacher, and J. Varendonck's *The Psychology of Day-Dreams*, a Freudian interpretation, will prove useful to the advanced student. J. J. B. Morgan's *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School-Child* (pages 63–201) is also important for the student.

CHAPTER XII

FIXATION

ALTHOUGH the term 'fixation' is a recent addition to the vocabulary of child-study, the idea itself is not new. Proverbs and folk-tales of very ancient origin make it clear that one of the first failures of human nature that attracted attention was this lack of maturity which we now call fixation. The child who cannot make normal growth because he is tied emotionally to some stage of his development or some person upon whom he is dependent is said to suffer from fixation.

It helps in understanding fixation to distinguish two types — a clinging to a childish level of behavior and an attachment to an older person, usually a parent, even though frequently these types cannot be separated. In the first we have a holding over of a childhood experience which becomes harmful because it persists out of its proper season. This retardation may express itself with reference to ideas, activities, or emotional attitudes. The emotional element, however, is usually so strong that we think of fixation as having to do with feeling. This fail-

ure of adjustment to go forward shows us that the strength of habit which holds back development is not, as we sometimes think, entirely a product of increasing age.

The other sort of fixation has to do with an excessive dependence upon people. This is the form of fixation that attracts greater attention. It is usually the parents, or at least one of them, upon whom the child fixes himself. The need the child has for the help of the parent and the pleasure the latter gets from serving the child make exploitation in this intensely emotional relationship extremely easy. In the name of love the child is led to the false goal of excessive attachment.

What are the causes of fixation? Where adjustment remains immature, we frequently find some kind of experience emotionally so captivating that the child fails to go forward. Sometimes this is not so much the memory of actual experiences as the desire to have what, at the proper time, the child was not given. Whether it is memory or imagination which colors the experience so that the child refuses to give it up, he has a fixation. At other times difficulty comes because of lack of opportunity to pass out of one stage into another. The child deprived of playmates is a common illustration of this.

Fixation also occurs because of lack of vigor on the part of the child. It is easy to keep to the familiar, and for various reasons children take the line of conduct which is the way of least resistance. The chief cause of fixation upon a parent or some older person is the lack of restraint of selfish and thoughtless adults who get pleasure from keeping the child in emotional bondage. The child cannot mature or is kept backward in his growth because some older person is lacking in emotional moderation. Thus fixation is forced upon the child by some faulty adult.

HOW MOTHER FIXATION ARISES

The mother who feels that nobody but herself can do justice to her child bids fair to warp that child's judgment until he, too, feels that only his mother is fair to him. Not in late childhood, but in earliest infancy does the smothering parent begin to bind the child so he cannot develop emotionally to the point of maturity. Since the mother usually has more to do with the baby, and less to do with the outside world, she is commonly the offender, though at times it is she father who cripples the personality of the growing child.

When it is the mother who is at fault, she is liable to follow some such procedure as this. Un-

willing to trust her baby to any one else, she does everything for him herself, instead of giving the father or older children a chance to become more deeply attached to the little one by ministering to his helplessness. While the baby is still very new and wonderful, Daddy would be thrilled to hold it and, with a little encouragement, to take care of it for a few hours at a time, thereby gaining confidence in his ability to look out for the wee one, and at the same time teaching the infant to expect comfort and reassurance from both parents instead of only one. Unless the father as well as the mother does things for the little child or in some other way contributes directly to the child's happiness, the early conditioning of the child is toward the mother rather than the father. The father and child are likely to play together increasingly after the first few months, unless the over-intense mother has encroached on their good times unduly, with warnings of 'Not good for Baby to get so excited,' so that they have fallen out of the habit.

Not only is the octopus-mother unwilling to hand her child over to other people, save to be admired as her creation, but — and this is the crux of her delinquency — she refuses to hand him over to himself. His bodily functions, his

eating, his sleeping, she fusses with until she makes them her concern as much as his. Soon the child eats up the mother's time by refusing to satisfy simple biological needs without much urging and cajoling from her who has taught him to depend on her in these matters, and not on himself.

HOW TO AVERT A FIXATION

Seldom does a woman realize that she is sapping her child's emotional virility by twining his affections too closely about herself. She says perhaps that 'He is a difficult child' or 'So sensitive; nobody understands him but me.' Yet whenever a mother really believes that she alone can do for her child what he needs, it is high time that she took a vacation or sent the child to visit relatives, friends or strangers — any one who will give him ordinary care and treat him just like any other child, as an individual having individual wants and difficulties. By one means or other the child must be got out of the highly emotionalized atmosphere that has surrounded him while he acted as the pivot of his mother's world. He will have a chance to recover from the over-mothering he has been getting, and the mother may get a new perspective that will enable her to see her child as others see him —

somewhat of a nuisance, a good deal of a puzzle, and on the whole a delightful person to have around, though far from being the one and only marvelous child that ever happened.

Whichever parent is hemming in the child's affection, so that it cannot pass on from one goal to another until it concentrates on the potential mate, will try to shield the child from punishment, even the natural consequences of his own actions. In extreme degree, in later years, this is the parent who tries to 'fix' the jury when his intoxicated son has committed manslaughter. In mild, but significant, beginning this is the parent who always makes up to the child the losses occasioned by his own carelessness or petulance, giving another penny for the one the youngster has lost, replacing the torn party dress by a new and equally pretty one, buying a toy to take the place of one destroyed by the child in a fit of anger, and making excuses for the child's waywardness so that he learns to think of himself as an especially privileged character, allowed to be negligent and violent by turns, and not required to live up to the hard schedule of the common run of people.

If one feels that one's child is not appreciated by other people, perhaps 'picked on' by the neighbor's children, discriminated against by

outsiders, it is high time to institute a searching inquiry into the extent to which one has encouraged a fixation to develop between oneself and the child. Is the child, though three or four years old, unable to take care of himself in the routine matters of washing, dressing, eating, and sleeping? Does he insist that one dance attendance upon him to get him to attend to his own bodily wants? Does he whine constantly and tease as a matter of course for whatever is denied him? Is he determined not to sleep in a room by himself, unwilling to play away from home with other children, shy and uncommunicative except when alone with the engrossing parent?

The child of two years needs to get away from his home-folks part of every day, in play with other children of about his own age, if only that he may early get a reliable idea of his relative importance in the scheme of things. The sooner he plays away from home, the more happily does he do it, since he takes mishaps more for granted and is less self-conscious, therefore less critical of the treatment accorded him, than will be true after his third birthday. Also, because he is so little, older children usually make allowances for him and are often quite parental in their attitude toward him, so that his first im-

pressions of the outside world are not so forbidding as if he had waited another year or two before venturing forth to try his fortunes. Moreover, the younger the child, the less seriously can he have been spoiled by exaggerated parental concern, and this makes his adjustment to other children easier than if it were first attempted when he is somewhat older.

To be sure, a two-year-old seems rather young to go alone about the world, but if he cannot get on with the casual overlooking of mother's eye, or the eye of his playmate's mother, several women who have children of nearly the same age can make definite plans to coöperate in solving their problem of fading gradually out of the central position they have occupied in their children's life.

In one community six mothers whose children ranged from two to four years took turns spending one morning each week in charge of the children on a central playground contributed by the mother who had the most suitable yard space. Each family contributed improvised or ready-made play equipment, and children as well as mothers enjoyed the group undertaking. Two-year-olds who had previously been too shy to let go of mother's hand when out for a walk, and utterly averse to staying in some one else's

yard without the comforting reassurance of mother's presence, soon began to look gleefully for the time of leaving home for the playground, shouting, 'P'ay-d'own,' as soon as breakfast was over, then running to the front door and calling, 'Do' ope',' so they could be set free to start for the playground.

Oftener, two or three mothers, while engaged in their ordinary occupations, take turns in looking out for each other's children, as the youngsters play now at this one's house and now at that. This has the advantage of being a more spontaneous arrangement, and fostering initiative and the power of making decisions, as the children choose where they are to play and plan their own activities more completely. In either case, the part of the supervising mother is to provide the raw material for play, in terms of open space, and simple but adequate equipment for active exercise and constructive play. A sandbox or pile of dirt for digging, a tree or substitute for climbing, a few planks and plenty of old wooden boxes for building and imaginative plays that involve diverse exercise, will outweigh in value to the child and in permanency of attractiveness for him the expensive apparatus that caters chiefly to his love of swift motion with little exertion.

Whatever the arrangement worked out by individual parents, much thought and labor has to be spent on this problem of early weaning the child from undue dependence on his mother, by creating for him a world of his own, in which he can play and work with his mates under a minimum of unobtrusive supervision. When the needs of the child in this respect are more widely appreciated by non-parents as well as parents, no one will feel that he should apologize for a back yard — or front yard, if that is the sunnier or otherwise the more desirable of the two — visibly dedicated to the proposition that all children crave and must have a homely, workable milieu in which to develop their muscles, poise, and self-reliance, that they may truly be the masters of their own lives.

MOTHER VERSUS FATHER FIXATION

Though there is no clear dividing line between mother and father fixation, save that the boy-child is apt to be over-dependent on his mother, and the girl-child on her father, it usually happens that the two fixations develop in somewhat different ways. Naturally the mother has her innings in the very beginning of the child's life, when it is her commonly accepted duty and privilege to minister to his needs. By

song and story, painting, sculpture, and the penetrating breath of age-old public opinion is she urged to give herself to nurturing the little being at her side. Because this has often necessitated self-sacrifice, undiscriminating thought has praised the sacrificing mother regardless of the effect of her sacrifice on the child.

Animal mothers quickly lose their altruistic attitude toward their young as these outgrow their need of it. The lactant dog runs away from her overgrown puppies or defends herself from their inroads by biting and cuffing them. Less and less she plays with them, going off about her own concerns for hours at a time, until finally her progeny mean less to her than the neighboring female dog with whom she romps.

Not so the human mother. If she takes at all kindly to the rôle of sacrificing parent, she runs risk of overdoing the part and extending it long past her child's period of helplessness, so that he is never forced — perhaps never allowed — to grow up.

But with the father it is different. Not self-sacrifice but self-aggrandizement is at the bottom of his octopus-clutch on the child. Neither by nature nor as a result of the pressure of tradition and convention is he swayed toward self-sacrifice to the degree that is true of the mother.

Expansion, overriding of obstacles, and personal achievement are his accepted goals. It is in his pursuance of these aims that he hurts the child when he dominates her so that she feels incapable of managing herself. If the father is very harsh and strict the child may either hate or love him, but still be unable to strike out for herself because of her lack of self-confidence. In that home where the most perfect order prevails and the father's word is law, his displeasure an ominous event, to be avoided if humanly possible, lies greatest danger of father fixation in the children. Sometimes every one in a large family of boys and girls suffers from this fixation. While it may be developed by the reputation of the father in his profession or community, especially as interpreted to the children in their most impressionable years by the partisan wife, or by the father himself, it can also be caused by an exactly opposite situation, in which the father tries to hide from himself his incompetence or lack of recognition in the world at large by insisting on being the king pin at home.

In either case, the children need wide contacts outside the home, beginning in small degree as early as the second year, in order that they may be exposed to other influences which will coun-

teract that of the dominating parent. Especially do they need experiences which will establish in them confidence in their own powers, particularly when these are unlike those of the revered parent.

Many times, the father whose position so impresses his children that they cannot live their own lives, free from the shadow of his personality, pays not too much but too little attention to his children. Intent on achievement, he cheats his own young of the attention and affection to which they have a right. Seeing him little, and knowing him scarcely at all in any familiar way, the youngsters exaggerate his great qualities and idolize the mysterious being they cannot ignore, so constantly are they reminded of his importance, both within and without the home. Were this father to take the trouble to know his children as he knows his clients or his business, he would establish a more human relationship between himself and his offspring, which would prevent their misinterpreting his relative importance in comparison with their untried possibilities.

THE WHY OF PARENT FIXATION

On the child's side, the liability of fixation is greater if the child is physically weak or closely

isolated, an only child or much younger than the rest of the family. A severe illness from which complete recovery is made may yet be the occasion of the development of a fixation, as the child tries to continue the position of household despot that was his while he was ill.

That parent is likely to foster a fixation who is hag-ridden by intense inferiority feeling or who is emotionally starved because of an unsatisfying married life, whether because of the death or alienation of the marriage partner or as the result of an infantile personality.

DEVELOPMENTAL FIXATION

The thumb-sucking child is one of those who cling to a stage of babyhood experiences which they should long ago have outgrown. To get thumb or fingers into the mouth is an achievement of the early weeks of life; to distinguish thumb from fingers so as to begin its more highly specialized career is a distinct step in advance. Thumb-sucking, when first attained by the infant, is a mark of progress from the period of random movement toward purposive activity. But since, once accomplished, it allows little room for improvement, thumb-sucking needs to be outgrown almost as soon as it is grown into. This is what generally happens, as

the child's interests are drawn on to other manipulative actions which do permit unlimited progress.

The reason why thumb-sucking often persists beyond its allotted time is that it is intrinsically satisfying, since it is the response to the sensitive readiness for stimulation of both lips, tongue, cheek, and thumb. The old saying, 'A thumb-sucking child is a good child,' bears witness to the contentment that descends on the thumb-sucker. But it is in this very content that danger lies, for it soothes the child by shutting out the rest of the world. Whenever he is in trouble, he sticks his thumb in his mouth and is at peace. This slows up his advance toward maturity by preventing him from meeting and overcoming obstacles.

OVERCOMING FIXATION

The child whose development is arrested may intermittently try to break away from his fixation. The earlier this is attempted, the greater his chance of success. His first efforts, however feeble or crude, should be respected by the parent. When the docile, babyish child suddenly tries to assert himself, it may seem to the parent as if the youngster is just growing boisterous or rebellious, and that this is the time to quench

his waywardness before he becomes out and out obstreperous. On the contrary, this is the time to encourage the child to go 'on his own,' for if he fails now it will be harder for him to try wholeheartedly again, since he will have learned to expect failure.

Only when the child really wants to grow up does he succeed. If he partially wants to, but also wants to stick to the easy path of infantilism, he makes little headway in meeting life. The parent, too, must be honest in his desire to see the child stand alone, or he is bound, unwittingly, to hang a millstone around the struggling child's neck.

At adolescence, if never before or after, does the child make a desperate attempt to break loose from the fetters that hold him. Happy that parent who can see without a qualm his place in the child's life being taken by other people, nearer the child's own age. No plea of loyalty should be entered at this point in the hope of retaining the chief place in the youth's affection or respect. Rightfully, he tries to orient himself in the world that lies ahead of him, where he must live with his mate amidst the conventions and opinions of his equals in age.

REFERENCES

Parents and Children, by the authors of *Wholesome Parenthood* (chapter VIII), discusses 'The Dangerous Mother' and chapter X considers how the influence of the father can be made more effective in the home. D. A. Thom, in his *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (chapter III), treats 'The Parent-Child Relationship,' as does J. B. Watson in *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (chapter III). 'Arrested Development' is treated in chapter II of F. H. Richardson's *Parenthood and the Newer Psychology*. The advanced student will find a good beginning in his reading on this problem in W. A. White's *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, chapter VII, entitled 'The Family Romance.'

CHAPTER XIII

INTROVERSION AND EXTRAVERSION

PARENTS have long noticed differences in their children's outlook upon life. Especially impressive has been the fact that some children are entirely wrapped up in things while others are chiefly occupied with their own ideas. The former busy themselves with the affairs of the outside world while the others fix their attention upon their inner experience. It has been customary for parents roughly to divide these two types, calling one class mechanical, or objective, while the other has been described as the meditative, or subjective, group.

Science recognizes this distinction that parents have always made, but it has a more exact terminology. It defines those who look outward as extravert while the others are described as introvert. In one, attention is primarily within the life while in the other it is fixed upon outside things and events. It is not hard to classify children as soon as their center of great interest begins to show itself. The entire coloring of life is different in these two opposite types of children. It is, therefore, important that parents

recognize the difference and correctly classify the child just as soon as he begins to show his natural bent.

There has never been a more clear and characteristic description of the introvert and the extravert than the New Testament story of the entertainment of Jesus by Mary and Martha. Martha, busy with the extraverted task of taking care of the body comforts of Jesus, it will be remembered, rebuked Mary for her apparent negligence and was herself criticized by being reminded that there were other values than physical. The difference between the two types also appears in the characteristic civilization of western peoples as compared with eastern. We are wont to call Occidental civilization at the present time, extraverted, and Oriental, introverted, and it is this separation of chief interests that makes it so hard for the Easterner and the Westerner to understand each other.

It must not be supposed, as many seem to think, that the extraverted type is normal, while the introvert is necessarily abnormal and a candidate for some sort of neurosis. Both types, carried to extreme, are abnormal. The introvert is frequently criticized for fleeing from reality, but it is nearly always the extravert who makes the charge and who forgets that

there are inner values that deserve recognition as well as outer, and that the extreme extravert is also guilty of fleeing from the kind of reality that he finds irksome. It is true that, at present, in western countries, extraverted habits of thought dominate and this gives a slight advantage to the extravert as compared with the introvert, as he makes his necessary adjustments to life. This condition leads to an exaggeration of the superior position of the extravert and doubly handicaps the introvert, who is often led to believe that his natural way of dealing with life is essentially abnormal.

We do not, at present, know with certainty whether the extraverted and introverted traits are born in the person or whether they are acquired by early experience or whether they are a union of hereditary and environmental influences working together. Experience, however, shows that training has a large place and that the parent can do much to prevent an excessive development of either type of reaction to life. It is this power of the parent to influence the child that makes it so necessary not only that the child be classified, but also the parent himself. It must not be forgotten that parents and others dealing with children are naturally prejudiced in favor of the type of reaction that

is characteristic of their own personality and that their unfairness, born of lack of sympathy in dealing with the child of the opposite type, is many times the most harmful result of the child's natural outlook.

First of all, those who have to do with children must be able without any emotional protest to discover correctly their own characteristic reaction. Then, in dealing with the child who sees life otherwise, a conscientious person will beware of antagonizing or treating harshly the personality that sees life from the other point of view.

It has often been said that introverts are more often unhappy, and there is a sense in which this is true. Their tendency to shut themselves in and make too much of their personal experiences leads to a magnifying of their difficulties and sometimes to a misinterpretation of the attitude other people take toward them. Thus, they often become excessively sensitive and unwisely introspective. Since the main current of life to-day flows in the opposite direction from the way in which they proceed, they are all the more conscious of their differences, and tempted to wrap themselves up within the world they create for themselves, in the kingdom of the mind. They become, through

habit, exceedingly sensitive to the more subtle elements that appear in human associations, always being tempted to take too seriously the personal reactions they detect in those about them.

Although it is true that the introverted child becomes more familiar with the tragic experiences of life and more often subject to hurt through the rough contact of everyday experience, he frequently has the advantage of being more ready to acknowledge his faults and to profit from counsel designed to turn his attention to the opposite way of meeting life. The fact that he is so interested in himself enables him more often to recognize his deficiencies. His very scrutiny of self tends to make him open to self-direction. He appreciates the advantages the extravert has in ordinary experience and covets his qualities.

On the other hand, the extravert is handicapped because he is more susceptible to the dangers of self-satisfaction and easily develops contempt for the opposite type, and inability to cultivate self-knowledge. Because of this it is harder to convince him that he should struggle to achieve habits of self-analysis and self-understanding. It may be impossible, once the child gets started toward extraversion or introversion,

to change his general direction, and indeed there is no reason why one should try to force such a conformity, but it is important that the child should not only respect the opposite type of personality but should build habits fundamentally favorable to the opposite kind of reaction so that there may not be that excessiveness which distorts the values of life and, when carried far enough, leads to abnormality.

THE EXTRAVERT AT HOME

The extraverted child is an ornament to any home. He bubbles over with laughter and good spirits, for seeing, hearing, and doing makes him happy. He impresses strangers well, for he notices them and their clothes and is evidently pleased with the chance to have somebody and something new to look at. Besides cheering people by his mere presence, through the infection of his own easy good nature, the extravert is a useful adjunct to any family party, for he it is that sees what needs to be done and enjoys doing it. Is another chair needed? He fetches one before anybody else has noticed its lack. Does conversation drag? He fills the void, merrily rattling on about this and that, recounting what he has seen, heard, and done until all present taste his joy in remembered action.

THE INTROVERT AT HOME

Meanwhile, where is the introvert? There he sits, in the group, but not of it. He is wondering why it is that Mrs. Hunt talks so loud. (The extraverted child had only reveled in her robust tones and answered them in kind.) Is it because she has nothing much to say, so she says it with a Bang! Bang! Bang! hoping nobody will notice that it doesn't amount to anything? Rarely does the introverted child smile, for his thoughts are of the intricate kind that absorb one too deeply to give off many flashes of merriment. It is not the need of a chair that he sees, but the embarrassed look of the guest who cannot find a seat, yet by the time he has worked backward from this to divine the lack of a chair, his extraverted brother has already brought one, for he was counting noses and chairs before ever the company had thought of sitting down.

PURITY OF TYPE

Nobody is purely extravert or purely introvert; all of us react somewhat to our own feelings and our thoughts of the feelings of others, and we all have to take some account of the actual things about us, and look to our behavior as well as our intentions. But it is plain

that most people lean heavily toward one type or the other.

One sees sisters going to school together, the one with her head full of the newest tricks for coaxing curls on a straight-haired pate, and the other occupied in trying to estimate what that war they are studying in history really was about, in spite of what the people thought occasioned it. Yet the curl-considering one may have a flash of inspiration as to the root cause of the war, and the studious girl may suddenly achieve a curl far better than her diligent sister. At home, Miss Extravert thinks first of supper, and starts something cooking if Mother is out, while Miss Introvert is buried in a book, forgetful even of her own hunger. But when Extravert just cannot think how to get the lid off the new mayonnaise jar, Introvert may come to the rescue with a keen flash of thought neatly applied to its purpose. 'Don't whack it; that will just push it on harder. Tap it gently away from the jar. There! Now you've got it.' And meanwhile Extravert sums up in a genuine introvertive grasping for inner meanings the difference between her sister's attitude toward life and her own. 'When you put that big brain of yours to work on anything, you can always do it. The trouble with you is, you don't want to be both-

ered with things; you'd rather read about 'em than do 'em. Now, I don't care to read about things. I'd rather do them. Books are all right if there's nothing else in the world I can do. When I'm sick or have a broken leg I read a lot and like it, but when I can be up and around, I'd rather even do housework or work in the yard than read about other people doing things.'

CHANGING THE TYPE

Parents are apt to try to change the child that inclines toward the opposite type from themselves, and in making this attempt, though their efforts are unsuccessful, they easily hurt the child by leading him to suppose that his natural way of acting and thinking is queer and that he himself is a useless, inferior sort of person. The one-sided child needs indeed to be straightened, but this can be done only by gradual changes over a long period of time, not by a sudden petulant jerk.

The child whose thoughts are long, long thoughts, which sometimes get in the way of his acting as quickly as he should when there are chores to be done or social amenities to be observed, is but the more perplexed by his inability to be like other people, when the active, energetic, busy-body parent blusters at him to

quit his star-gazing and come down to earth and wash the car or feed the canary, at any rate, do something useful. He may even be bluntly told that he is lazy, useless, good for nothing, and never will amount to anything unless he bestirs himself and acts 'like other people.'

The fact is, the introvert may exert himself quite as much as the extravert, perhaps more, but his exertions are not so instantly visible to the casual eye. The mental exercise of the introvert may be a preparation for mature work that will be vastly farther-reaching than the occupation of his brother, who happens to be an extravert.

Not reprimand nor entreaty, but appreciation of his own peculiar powers, and suggestions as to how he can link them up with real problems and actual situations are needed by the lopsided introvert, if he is to learn to balance his flying power with the ability to make a neat landing. When the introvert does turn his attention to practical matters, he has an almost uncanny way of seeing through the mass of details that hedges them in, to the root processes concerned. In a moment, he notes the need of some change in the mechanism, which the extravert had been handling daily for years without ever considering the possibility of improving it.

The introvert who is trained to observe objectively and execute accurately, besides being allowed freedom to pursue his natural introspective way of thinking, is the one who has the makings of a useful inventor, a true scientist, a leader capable of attaining as well as framing goals of achievement. From the ranks of these extraverted introverts come many of the great names of current and past history. Pasteur, Pierre Curie and Madame Curie, Grenfell, these and many others have been able to win through to success because they hitched the star of their introverted power to the wagon of extraverted attention to detail.

The lesser ranks of extraverted introverts include many of the prominent people of the contemporary and historic world, for this is a combination that spells accomplishment. Interpretation of life and the practical ability to adjust to its demands or alter them — this is the translation into common terms of the addition of extraverted training to an introverted nature.

The question for parents is how to get the introverted child to take the extraverted training he needs. It cannot be foisted upon him without his consent, for any attempt to do this would only alienate him still further from interest in objective facts. Desire must be awak-

ened. This can be done by tying objective facts up with the child's introverted interests.

The girl who buries herself in books can be put in charge of a group of children to dramatize a favorite book. This will make her pay eager attention to practical details of costume, accessories, and the exigencies of the stage, while capitalizing her native interest in ideas. The boy who likes to talk and argue endlessly without regard to his audience may be encouraged to form a debating club that shall challenge a rival society or divide its members into teams to debate the burning questions of the day. The boy's fondness for the sound of his own thoughts will then be turned to practical use by the necessity of his meeting the real problems of leadership and management.

In these attempts to make the child four-square in his openness to outside as well as inner impressions, the parent has to tread delicately the narrow path between discouraging the child's new and difficult growth of interest, and exaggerating its development. Probably the introvert will bungle his job at first, because it really is hard for him. The parent intent on the extraverted values to be obtained is tempted to emphasize whatever failure occurs, perhaps even to ridicule the child for his lack of objectiv-

ity. This, of course, only pushes the child back from the region where his hardest efforts meet with but partial success to the land of his facile achievements, in introverted activities. If, on the other hand, the parent is too anxious for the child to supplement his predominant tendency with ample grounding on the other side of the line, he may ecstatically praise every slightest objective achievement and altogether ignore or secretly patch up the child's mistakes. This prevents the child from perfecting himself through experience, since he thinks he is already perfect or supposes perfection or even improvement impossible to attain.

As with the introvert, so with the extravert, it is the addition of the opposite tendency to the one a child already has that produces especially fine results. The person who enjoys seeing, doing and hearing needs but the leaven of introspective ability to go far in whatever he undertakes. He, who not only notes accurately what he sees and develops skill in handling tangible matter, but is able to stand aside from his work to consider its value and possibilities as they impress him personally, is the potential master craftsman, big business man, inventor, explorer.

To turn an extravert toward introvertive thinking, one must lead him to taste the de-

lights of more or less abstract meditation which he follows up by giving the results of his cogitation objective form. He may guess what is going to happen when he combines two ingredients, and then verify or disprove his hypothesis, care being taken that he does not dabble with dangerous chemical mixtures; or he may plan an ideal arrangement, whether of toys in his playroom or of stock on his father's ranch, or of timbers and lines in a tiny or not so tiny house he wishes to build, or of proportions and stuffs in a garment he designs for his own use, and then proceed to put his ideas into practice. The pleasure he will get from the execution of his idea will be partly reflected back to the idea itself, so that he will go in search of ideas as a means to new pleasures of activity, instead of depending solely on the activities directly suggested to him by his environment.

INTROVERT VERSUS EXTRAVERT

It is questionable whether there is any preference between introversion and extraversion as a way of life, for the moment one begins to cast up accounts and try to classify the achievers in human history under one of these headings, in creeps personal bias and adjudges as of higher value those achievements produced by

individuals of one's own stamp. The extravert makes a list of greatest men, in which all but a sprinkling are extraverted: the introvert draws up his list of supreme personalities, of which all but a handful are introverted.

One thing is certain, and that is that both types are valuable, though in different eras and places society may place its approval now on one and now on the other. In America at the present time, extraversion is in the ascendancy. This does not mean that introverts are not needed but that they are less popularly valued than are extraverts.

The youth who does not care for motoring nor yet for 'listening in' unless there is something especial to be heard, but likes other than ephemeral books and enjoys clashing thoughts and far-flung wonderings, is almost sure to be thought queer if he reveals to his companions these characteristics. After much probing he may discover one or two kindred spirits to whom he can unburden himself and with whom he can exchange honest opinions, but for the most part he has to content himself with adopting a reserved behavior that may win him the epithet, 'high hat,' but at least preserves him from those deadliest weapons, condescension and ridicule.

The parents of such a youth are apt to be

worried by his solitary nature, and try every means to get him to associate more with his age-mates. Their most hopeful course is to allow him to pursue his education to the point where he is likely to meet with more people of his own intellectual leanings, meanwhile strictly refraining from urging him to act contrary to his inclinations by trying to conform to the demands laid upon him by objective-minded young people, so as to 'become popular.' There is no greater strain commonly endured by young folk than that of trying hard to play in ways not native to them, so as to be 'one of the crowd.' Instead of resulting in making them popular, this mistaken attempt but shows up their awkwardness and increases their awareness of their own differentness, while the degree of failure of which they are conscious gives them a heavy inferiority feeling to which they are not natural heirs.

The extraverted child generally makes a good showing at school, where so much emphasis is put on the mechanics of learning, spelling and punctuation often overshadowing subject matter, and bare facts counting for more than their interpretation. The introvert may be considered a trouble-maker by some of his teachers because he questions statements printed in

black and white in his textbooks, and wants eternally to know 'why?' But other teachers find him a rare character that is worth any amount of trouble, so eagerly does he feed on ideas.

In appraising the school work of their children, and urging them on or approving their accomplishments, parents need to estimate the quality of work done, on the basis of its meaning to the child. Do the marks brought home represent the fruit of hard work done by the child or are they only indications of the turn of his mind, either toward the goals set by the teacher or toward further self-imposed goals?

Parents are often tempted to use their influence to accentuate the trend of the child who is of the same type as themselves, naïvely supposing this to be the normal way of growth and anything else unsound. This does harm by making the personality of the child one-sided. The child who sees people's thoughts more clearly than their acts wants little encouragement to take a further step and content himself with watching the characters in books instead of subjecting himself to the give-and-take of ordinary life. The child whose attention is largely concerned with the passing show of light, heat, sound and smell that touches him needs no

further inducement to busy himself with tangible things, lest he grow up unable to see the woods, for the trees.

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CHAPTER XIV

ADOLESCENCE

THE period of youth which lies between childhood and maturity, known as adolescence, is quite generally thought of as the storm period of life. During these years there are frequently emotional outbursts which perhaps have been exaggerated by the common thought that they are necessary accompaniments of sex maturity. There also has been a tendency to mark too definitely the adolescent period, for later childhood normally passes into adolescence not by a volcanic outburst but by scarcely noticeable gradations. In the same manner distinction between later adolescence and maturity can only arbitrarily be made with any precision. Unless we overemphasize the uniqueness of adolescence, we find the term a helpful one in allowing us to put together certain characteristics that normally belong to the child at the time when he is coming into his sex maturity.

There are, of course, as every parent knows, body changes during this period, especially in the growth of the sex organs. From the body point of view, adolescence is the beginning of

physiological maturity which suggests changes in contrast with the later period when these physiological functions of sex begin to fade and we have what is known as the 'change of life,' spectacular in the case of women, but not absent in the experience of men.

There is also a social aspect of adolescence which comes primarily because the period is one of transition when the individual departs from childhood and enters upon adult responsibility. Necessarily such a change reveals marked differences in attitude and behavior as compared with the earlier period, attracting the attention of parent and teacher. There comes forward usually in the life of the maturing individual an ego-consciousness which is the promise of his final maturity. With this experience, however, there is an awakening of new desire for greater self-direction and a more vigorous objection to authority and external restraint. This insistence upon freedom, although it frequently frightens the parent and always brings him anxiety, is of course a necessary prerequisite to the self-control and independent responsibility without which the individual cannot achieve maturity.

The parent needs to keep in mind that many of the difficulties that appear at this period are seasonable in their character and must not be

taken too seriously. Once the body has adjusted itself to its changes and the individual has started his career of personal responsibility on a higher level of freedom, the disturbances will gradually fade away. On the other hand, when great mistakes have been made in the earlier period of childhood and when the nervous system uncovers during the period of stress a serious unsoundness, the adolescent difficulties have to be taken more seriously and in extreme cases demand psychiatric help. The time for the parent to take adolescence seriously is in the early formative period of the child when parental policy has so much power to shape the growing personalities and to prepare for the testing period of youth. To a large extent, therefore, adolescence is the early harvest period of childhood, prophecy of adult destiny.

In the average home the most serious perplexities of the parent who is dealing with an adolescent are likely to be with reference to the latter's craving for independence. Restriction irritates, although it is often clear that the child's experience is too limited to justify the quantity of freedom he demands. This kicking against the pricks the parent must realize is thoroughly normal. He, on his part, must not emotionally react against the child's demands.

In primitive culture the savage recognized the social necessity of protecting the child against unwise parents who would prevent the emergence of their offspring, and commonly celebrated, by means of rites, the period when family authority decreased or entirely passed away. In our time the wise parent allows his child to increase his responsibility gradually so that he passes into adolescence without any sharp break or struggle to revolt from ties that the other sort of parent will not remove. It is easier for the parent to prepare for this transition if only he keeps in mind that the new status of the child need not be less satisfying to the parent. The dependent child of infancy is exchanged for a companion and an equal and the new order of fellowship which is made possible is certainly not inferior in its satisfactions to the emotional dependence of the early stage of childhood. Where the parent blocks the striving for independence, some sort of emotional conflict often results.

The parent and the teacher are frequently greatly troubled by the increase in daydreaming that often accompanies adolescence. When it is realized that with the vitalizing of ego feeling, ambition stirs, and with the coming of new sex interests, attention turns markedly to mem-

bers of the other sex, it becomes apparent that the child's failure completely to satisfy his desires along one or both of these lines would naturally encourage daydreaming. Often this new interest in aircastles has an anticipatory value, representing a sort of trial-and-error process in emotion. Desires are pictured as actually realized through the imagination, criticized, and finally accepted or abandoned. In this way the fancy protects against dangerous experimenting. Destruction of this weaving of fancies leads to a sophistication which checks romance and prematurely forces the child into an unsatisfying humdrum existence.

The change of interest in sex which is characteristic of adolescence is socially of greatest importance and no parent can afford to be unconcerned as he sees the new awakening in his child. Not only may there be an increased disposition to seek the comradeship of members of the opposite sex of appropriate age; there is also a different curiosity with reference to sex. The youth is impelled toward not mere information but experience, or recoils from the thought of such happenings by fear reaction. Suggestion plays a large part in these impulses. In order to steady himself the child needs to have established standards and a frank attitude toward

sex which forbids either excessive curiosity or morbid dread. The purpose of the parent is not only to help the child protect himself from social mistakes but also to build up wholesome and honest sex responsibility. Unless this is accomplished, however safe the child may be from social missteps during adolescence, there is risk of greater trouble with the coming of matrimony.

The adolescent surprises the parent by his rapid change of feeling. His inconsistencies reveal emotional instability. He is dogmatic as well as changeable, with opinions frequently over-strongly expressed and judgments highly colored, painting things in black and white but seldom in gray. He also steps quickly from cheerfulness and buoyancy into profound depression and a feeling of abject failure.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE STATUS AND ATTITUDES OF YOUTH

Differences in age and experience have always separated the youth of any generation from their elders. In recent years the gap between the two has been so great as to draw attention to the changes that are taking place in the status and attitudes of youth. This situation has come about because of the new policy of parents, in-

fluences that originate from normal impulses of youth, and the opportunity provided by the prevailing social conditions of the United States.

There are, of course, various sorts of parents, but rather generally they have exhibited one common characteristic. Unlike their own fathers and mothers they have been unable to follow automatically the traditions of parenthood handed on to them. Neither have they been able to discard, especially in their emotional attitudes, the teachings and habits of their own childhood. The result has been an inconsistency in the parenthood program which has baffled the child and thrown him back more largely upon his own resources than has been true of children of the past.

Some parents have alienated their children by a futile effort to enforce the spirit and regulations characteristic of their own youth, while others have given up in despair or from indifference so that the child has been socially orphaned from early years. The great majority of parents have inconsistently moved back and forth, now attempting to enforce the conditions of their own early experience, and now trying to adapt their family government to the modern situation.

The impulses of youth always drive hard toward independence, and adolescence is a period

when self-government must be finally achieved or maturity defeated. As a consequence, indecisive and weakened control of parents has sharpened the desire of youth to have greater freedom. This freedom has necessarily been positive in its expression, demanding new experiences and leading the child eventually to pass his judgment on parental standards and habits, an appraisal that in former years would only have come at a later period, perhaps never with conscious frankness.

The conditions of modern life, largely resulting from applied science, favor both the demands of youth for freedom and the breaking down of automatic parenthood practices. The flood of discoveries and inventions, changing both the ways of living and the ideas of people, have sophisticated youth and so multiplied the interests and responsibilities of parents as necessarily to restrict the importance of family experience. Control has been made more difficult and ties less stable by our rapid communication and transportation. The automobile especially has contributed an opportunity for anonymous freedom which has tempted youth by furnishing him with a sense of social isolation and revealing to him the ease with which parental ties can be temporarily severed. Social conditions

have encouraged the philosophy of self-expression and this has become a basic motive of education. Along with this has gone the sweep of luxury standards from which few children, however poor and unfortunate, can escape.

The result that has come from parental policy, youthful impulse, and social situation has been most clearly registered in what deserves to be called a 'youth civilization.' Its characteristic, as compared with the youth attitude of the past, is an earlier sophistication and self-contained interest. Youth both draw closer together than in the past and find to a greater degree than ever before standards that govern them within their own code. Denied the necessity of struggle to any great degree in their usual experience, and forced constantly into an atmosphere of luxury with their appetites and pleasure cravings exploited to the utmost by commerce, they have repudiated the self-denial virtues that have been in the past so prominent, especially in Protestant theology.

Until recently the elders have always been able to bring the majority of youth under the yoke of social tradition by their control of the processes that have transmitted the mores of the period. By conscious revolt or mere indifference a large proportion of modern youth have

freed themselves from the coercive conditions which they either repudiate or fail to recognize. Thus the period of maturity and the breaking of home ties have been brought down to an earlier age level, while at the same time the code of control has been largely built up without respect to tradition. This discarding of what in the past has been the chief machinery of control is the most significant element in the present youth situation.

There can be little doubt as to the best means of helping youth in their ordeal. More attention must be given to the early years of childhood, and the demands of adolescence and independence must be recognized from the first, so that the impressionable years may be used to lay a foundation for early self-control. Better use of the opportunity provided by childhood can come about only by more adequate training of parents. Preparation for parenthood is now a public necessity. Proper education for matrimony and parenthood will surely impress the fact that our mores cannot any longer be passed on as socially compelling without conscious intelligent scrutiny in the sincere effort to adapt them to changing circumstances.

PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN ADOLESCENT

The baby cutting his teeth on his mother's compact is heir to a different version of problems from those which beset his predecessor of the last generation. The parent who looks on his child as a copy of himself in small print can do little to help the adolescent through any difficulties that may come up. Such a parent is doubly blinded. No one can remember much of his youth, for what stands out in his memory is the unusual happening or that which was deeply emotional, whether happy or unhappy in tone. Nor would it help much to be able to recall one's own experiences, they were so unlike those of to-day's youth.

The parent whose early years were full of struggle is often puzzled by the easy-going ways of his children. Why cannot they appreciate what has been done for them and go on from where the parent left off, with as much industry and ambition as he showed? One forgets how harsh circumstances drive one to climb, and what different lines ambition and energy take when not compelled by necessity.

The young people of to-day who are better supplied than were their parents with educational and material equipment can scarcely feel the same need of striving, but, being human, they do

want to get ahead, and deny themselves or spend their energy lavishly in the determination to excel. That their ambitions are of another breed than their parents' is to be expected, and it is the parents who understand this and work with it, who can do most to direct the slant followed by modern adolescents. Left to themselves, or approached only by adults whose ideals are too firmly grounded in the past to be affected by the currents of life that touch young people now, the adolescent responds most keenly to the standards of his kind — other young people and those not so young who live in the world as it is today. The result depends on the type of associates with whom they have contact, and their choice of persons whom they set up as standards is largely decided by the bent they have formed in their pre-adolescent years. Parents who have the wit and the inclination to fellowship with their children unconsciously share with them appreciation of their own friends and insight into their own ideals.

If young people in 'easy circumstances' are to develop a love of struggle, they must have a chance in earliest childhood to work out their own ideas without much help, that they may know the joy of trying hard to reach a goal they have set themselves. No matter what one's

resources, there are always plenty of things just outside one's reach — different kinds of skills, information, understanding — so that there is never any need of losing one's zest in struggle; only this more subtle kind of self-prodding is naturally less common than that of the handicapped person who tries to pull himself up to the level of the more fortunate people just above him. Parents, then, should not think their children degenerate because they show less ambition than the elders, but try to share with the young people their own unattained yearnings, and watch for the adolescent's different aspirations.

At the time of the adolescent's surging out from the home, parental understanding of the youth's motives is more helpful than shocked insistence on the outward forms of behavior that were acceptable a generation ago. The young person whose ambition to excel his mates in daring, as it is understood in his time and place, draws only horrified protest from his mother and father soon stops telling them of his exploits 'because he doesn't want to make them uncomfortable,' as a fifteen-year-old said the other day in explaining why the parents in a certain community knew so little of what their sons and daughters were doing.

This is unfortunate because the adolescent is then unable to go to his parent for advice or information. While he would not do this often, and never in any formal way, yet he likes to be able to get an unemotional comment from one who stands outside his situation. While his pride may not let him show at the time that he appreciates this, or his arrogance may make him contradict its truth, later on he may be heard to state it as his own position, having forgotten whence he got it save that it came from some one whose opinion he respects. When a parent has his past statements quoted against him in discussion as if they were accepted by all the world but him, he realizes how deep is his indirect influence on the adolescent, and stops worrying because the boy or girl of teen age does not verbally give immediate recognition of the value of parental counsel.

Of course the parent whose technique is bad can in a moment of emotional abandon shut his child's ears to anything he may say that might be helpful. When the adolescent is especially hard to get on with, whether because he is more touchy than usual or careless of the feelings of other members of the household, shirking his duties and finding fault with those who do them, the long-suffering parent is tempted to 'put an

end to this nonsense' by sharp speeches and a tightening of rules. But this irritability of the adolescent is not a rebellion to be put down by force; it is an indication of strain due to the unevenness of development characteristic of his age. Conscious of new bodily and mental powers, and torn by strange emotions, he is almost a stranger to himself; puzzled by new desires and humiliated by falling short of goals he sets himself, he flashes from white hope to black despair, from fierce pride to chill distrust of self. The intolerant parent who sees only disobedience and rudeness in the bewilderment of his child is liable to add to the adolescent's sense of isolation by chiding him for superficial shortcomings, not seeing that the vexatious behavior is caused by the attempt to maintain a higher standard of conduct than can easily be managed.

Being 'bad' is a common way of seeking relief from an unendurable situation, whether in the two-year-old that shrieks 'No!' and dashes the toy offered him to the ground in rage at being refused a treat, or in the adult who snaps at a child because of an aching head. So it is with the adolescent who tries to do justice to his impetuous cravings, his romantic ideals, and the principles of conduct with which he has grown up. The impossibility of acting so as to keep the

approval of his friends and at the same time squaring his actions with the ingrained principles of his early life, of satisfying his greed for applause while trying to live up to his far-flung ideals, wears down his self-control until he, too, seeks relief in sharp words and petulant actions.

If the parent can stand his ground quietly until the adolescent's period of contrariness is over — be it a week or a month or a year — he may be surprised to find that the touchiness now come to a sudden end was not merely an unpleasant interlude, but a time of rapid opening of mature powers; the superficial disagreeableness was only the dust raised by quick achievement. To have spent much effort in allaying the dust of friction would have produced immediate calm at the cost of crippling the child's possibility of growth.

As K., not quite sixteen, said, when a hectic month of loud-voiced staccato days interlarded with hours of grumpiness, quick tears, and biting remarks, running through a topsy-turvy schedule of late hours and neglected home tasks, had ended abruptly in the breaking of his infatuation for an easy-going girl of narrow interests and meager intellectual capacity: 'I'm all in. I never did anything harder in my life than trying to decide whether to throw L. over.

If any one had said one word to me against her, I never could have done it. And if they'd landed on me for anything else I don't know what I'd have done. Gone to smash, I guess. For weeks I was ready to fly to pieces if any one touched me. I'm sure glad that's over.'

Not often is it so easy to see what has been troubling the young boy or girl who has annoyed his household intimates by new and disagreeable ways. Sometimes it is a feeling of insufficiency in school or social activities that is consuming the adolescent's inner peace. This may be due to a consciousness of being very different from other young people in the style or variety of clothes worn, or to chagrin over awkwardness or any other condition by which the sensitive child sees or fancies himself marked for contempt.

In this day when young people go late to work, whether they will or no, putting off the maturing experience of supporting themselves until they have sat through twelve to sixteen years of formal schooling, they are more of a problem to themselves and others than were adolescents in the days when growth of muscle brought heavier responsibility, with its resultant sense of achievement. The fourteen-year-old boy who pitched hay and drove a team of

oxen on a New Hampshire farm and the fifteen-year-old girl who cooked in a Wisconsin farm kitchen for sixteen 'hands' in threshing season had to put all their energy into their work, and from doing it well they got a feeling of pride that stabilized their character growth. To try to duplicate this situation to-day is out of the question, since a different social environment would quickly change the pride to bitterness at the unwarranted foreclosing of youthful freedom.

The wider openings that lie before youth of to-day carry with them heightened risks, but these cannot be done away with by enforcing rules of conduct that jibe with the standards of yesterday. The boy and girl who are best prepared to find their place in the modern world are the ones who have worked out for themselves standards of behavior, so that they are not entirely at the mercy of chance associates when they discard the ill-fitting régime laid out for them by their parents. To make themselves masters of principles rather than slaves of rules, young people must have liberty to experiment and choose courses of action. This is most safely done if it has been the procedure followed throughout childhood, but in any case, the longer it is postponed, the more hazardous it becomes; and

since without self-direction there is no adolescence, but a premature withering of vitality, the boy and girl must be given a lengthened rein when they chafe at the bit of adult restrictions.

With the larger freedom of young people goes a need of more information and keener insight. It does not matter how much the parents have to give; it is how well they can give it that determines the extent to which they can help their children, and this depends largely on the quality of comradeship existing between the two. The parent who is able to share with his child whatever he has of knowledge or insight can always direct the youth to some one who will give him more, but he who has not learned to fellowship with his boy or girl may speak with the tongues of angels . . . it profiteth him naught.

The urban complexion of family life to-day, whether it is lived in the cramped city apartment, the time-clock-punching suburban house, or the metropolitan-shadowed farmhouse far from town, elbows out the old-time companionship of parent and child, interested in the same pastimes and engaged in the same pursuits. Knowing one's own child is now an undertaking to be entered upon consciously, lest its possibility be crowded out of the overfull schedules of parent and child.

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CHAPTER XV

A WORD TO PARENTS

PROPORTION

To the parent a grain of humor is worth as much as any amount of unrelieved psychological insight. Not only is the child thus and so, he has always the makings of something else. Given a sense of proportion one cannot be gloomy over his present condition nor arrogantly proud of his attainments to date: one looks ahead to see what is coming next, and adds this ingredient or that to the transient situation, curious to see if the results will be as one expects.

Happy the child who is not taken too seriously. Better that he should not be given any marked consideration than that he be considered of undue importance.

The parent's part is to have some understanding of what is happening to the child, to help when necessary, but especially to be able to stand back and watch things happen. Not solicitous worriment, but a clear road for his own journeyings does the child want if he is to grow up free from encumbrances.

practice of expecting their child to reach up to the marks set by themselves at different ages. 'Why! when I was your age I was supporting myself. I don't want you to do that, but I should think you might at least settle down to your books and stop acting like a child.' The parent forgets that he took a wage-earning job because he had to or because he thought he would get more freedom in that way than by being dependent on his family. Or the parent remembers definite things he did when he was ten or twelve, books he read, and thoughts he had, and looks at his child of that age to see what he is doing that is comparable. But the child that seldom reads may be doing other things of equal worth, unappreciated by the parent; and he who does not seem to be accomplishing much may be laying the foundation for a less precocious maturity that will be of greater worth; no parent knows what his child is thinking, but only what the child feels free to show of his thoughts, and here is one of the greatest shynesses of all humankind, for even the voluble may but talk to conceal their thoughts — or lack of thought.

The parent who is impatient with his child because of his lack of achievement at a definite point obscures his own clearness of perception in regard to the child's total attainment. Nor is

it fair to the child to measure him over closely by the accomplishments of his nextdoor neighbor. That child may shoot ahead in the early years in ways that seem more important than they are, but come to a standstill when one's own child is but getting his full momentum.

The child who is noticeably behind all other children of his age that have fallen under the parent's observation needs to be passed on by an expert in mental development, to determine whether he is lacking in the possibility of growth or needs to be put under a different régime or given necessary physical treatment.

THE CONVENTIONS OF CHILD CARE

No matter how conscientious a parent may be in trying to do what is for the good of the child, regardless of what the neighbors think, there are times when it takes a deal of courage to put the child's needs first.

'Was your baby sick this morning? I heard the poor little thing crying as if it was in terrible pain.'

'Oh, no! I was just disciplining Johnny.'

'But surely you weren't whipping him all that time!'

'I didn't touch him. I only put him out on the piazza to play alone. He used to like it, but

lately the cook has been letting him in whenever he whimpered, so of course he got so he cried every other minute, and the result was, he spent all his time in the kitchen. I am just letting him cry it out a few times, because he needs to be outdoors, and there is no other safe place for him. He is not quite two, you know.'

'Well, I do hate to hear the dear little thing cry.'

If the mother gives in and tries to satisfy her neighbor instead of her own obligations to the child, there will be much more crying and whining in the course of a year than if she settles the matter now. On the other hand, the knowledge that she has a skeptical audience may make the mother overstrict with the child, lest she be swayed toward leniency by their pleadings. Perhaps Jimmy has outgrown that four-by-six foot piazza, and some other arrangement must be made for him. If so, it takes even more courage to change one's program after having publicly announced it in the face of opposition.

Oftener the coercion of neighbors and friends is unvoiced, but none the less weighty, as when eyebrows are lifted at the disheveled appearance of an active youngster or a heavy silence greets the unconventional remark of an untrammeled child. So close does this unsaid criticism strike

home to parental sensitiveness that the traditions of unlearned and childless acquaintances constitute a powerful force which tends to keep the efforts of parents confined to the superficial level of turning out children who are neat and docile and can be counted on to do nothing unusual.

BUILDING A LIBRARY

What to give to the new mother to greet the coming of her baby? A dress? A bonnet? A baby book? The custom is growing of giving a book on child psychology or child training, such a one as Mrs. Jessie Fenton's 'Psychology of Babyhood,' which is eminently practical as well as reliable in its theoretical discussion, illustrated by snapshots of the author's son during his first twenty-four months. With this as a beginning, and the determination to have a usable library of modern books on child care, the parent can add a book a year, choosing carefully from the well tested, as well as the newest and best, after reading the current book reviews in magazines like 'Children, the Parents' Magazine' and 'Junior Home.'

Ever since the first hen hatched a duck's egg, parents have been puzzled by the doings of their children. Savages often made fun of the young-

sters who did not do as the rest did, or told stories of a bogey to frighten the little ones into minding. Not so long ago it was the custom to beat a troublesome child to make him 'behave.' But to-day we are outgrowing these thoughtless ways of treating young human beings.

Time was when the man who planted seeds painted his face and sang and danced to make sure of a good crop. The farmer now studies soil conditions, weather trends, and the needs of different kinds of plants; then when insects threaten his crop he tries to kill the pest; if the soil is poor he enriches it; when an early frost comes he builds a smudge, and always he works with conditions as he finds them, accepting the situation set before him as a problem to be solved.

So it is with the modern parent. Instead of beating his child or tormenting him with ridicule or fear, he watches to see why the child acts as he does, and makes an effort to give the youngster the mental and bodily food and exercise he needs.

As it is not only the 'dirt farmer' who is concerned with agriculture, but the chemists, bacteriologists, and other scientists that concentrate on small separate portions of the field; so with the profession of parenthood, many highly

trained persons who may be neither fathers nor mothers specialize in those divisions of various sciences that have to do with child care. Some observe the behavior of children under changing circumstances and work out rules for the building of habits, getting rid of fears, and encouraging good judgment and independence. Others base their work on the rehabilitation of shattered personalities, discovering the happenings in early life that stunted a promising character-growth, and developing a system of mental hygiene that will prevent such foreclosing of progress. Both the mental hygienists and the behaviorists attend to the pronouncements of child health authorities and students of psychology, while all note the practical work being done in 'Habit Clinics' for children and parents.

Meanwhile the parent who lives far from the 'Child Habit Clinics' is asking for a go-between who can bring him the results of scientific child study so that he can understand his own boys and girls and give them a fair chance in the modern world. One answer to that demand is the putting of the newer knowledge of child care into concise form, free from technicalities, for the use of parents and all others who have need of a practical understanding of children, as in 'Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child,' by

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THE END

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